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The JOURNAL of EDUCATIONAL SOCIOLOGY

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EDITORIAL

This issue of THE JOURNAL is devoted to the Boys' Club Study of New York University which has been carried on for the past four years under the direction of Associate Professor Frederic M. Thrasher.

This study, which is an attempt to evaluate scientifically the work of the boys' club, an important character-building institution, is of real significance to educational sociology and, indeed, to the whole field of education. It is a recognition of educational processes outside the formal program of the public school and of the significance of a procedure which has interrelationships with important aspects of the whole problem of public education. Furthermore, it is a recognition of a demand for the scientific evaluation of educational programs and institutions.

The study is of more than ordinary educational and sociological significance because it recognizes the interdependence of educational processes in the formation of character and personality. It is an attempt to visualize the educational problems of a certain type of community with particular reference to the prevention of delinquency and crime, which is assumed to be a cardinal educational function. Educational institutions base their claims for public support either openly or tacitly upon their ability

to make good citizens and to prevent the development of socially maladjusted personalities. A basic assumption of this study is that no such institution exists in a social vacuum, so to speak, and that it can only be understood and evaluated in the complex of social structures within which it functions—that its effectiveness must always be studied in relation to the welter of social influences which play upon its participants and condition its success.

The visualization of educational problems in terms of the needs and activities of the whole community and its varied social forces is essential to an investigation of this type. It indicates the extent to which education is a problem of community reorganization and of reintegration of social forces in the service of more carefully determined and more clearly defined educational functions.

The Boys' Club Study has provided generous opportunity for training research specialists in the field of educational sociology and has made possible a wider study of this field and a more discriminating appreciation of its problems on the part of hundreds of teachers and school administrators who have participated in the project or who have been in close touch with it.

In so far as methodology and the development of research techniques used in exploring a comparatively new field have inevitably received major attention in the study, these aspects of the investigation should have peculiar importance for the student of social research.

The Boys' Club Study, to a very great extent, has been a cooperative venture. Its successful culmination would have been impossible without the generous cooperation of scores of private and public agencies and institutions and the suggestions of a large group of persons, many of whom served as advisers of the study. The persistence and loyalty of numerous staff members, both paid and volunteer, and other persons engaged upon various phases of the project have been noteworthy. Special acknowledgment

is made of the excellent work of Dr. Janet Fowler Nelson, statistician and psychologist of the study.

The data and the conclusions of the Boys' Club Study, with its related investigation of the social rôle of motion pictures in a given community background, cannot be presented in these pages but will appear in later publications. Since an investigation of this type is a significant application of scientific methodology in this field, the contribution which this issue of *THE JOURNAL* will make is a synthesis and presentation of the essential research methods and subsidiary techniques employed in the study

THE BUSINESS MANAGEMENT OF THE JOURNAL

The Journal of Educational Sociology, which has been managed by the American Viewpoint Society since its inception in 1927, has been taken over by the faculty of the department of educational sociology, School of Education, New York University. Its business office is now located at the University's Washington Square center and all correspondence should be addressed there.

In addition to the current special number on the Boys' Club Study, other special numbers on "College Education in the United States," "The Motion Picture and Education," "Juvenile Delinquency and Education," and "Special Education" are planned for this year.

THE BOYS' CLUB STUDY

FREDERIC M. THRASHER

The Boys' Club Study of New York University has more than local significance because it is a part of a movement for the scientific evaluation of American institutions.

An outstanding fact in contemporary America and elsewhere is the prevalence of disillusionment, uncertainty, and change in the social order. An almost universal social disorganization is accompanied by equally ubiquitous social conflict which further intensifies the disintegration. Even the casual observer cannot escape the conviction that far-reaching social changes are in progress and that further alterations in social arrangements are impending.

Human nature and needs, however, are very much the same as before. In spite of higher standards of living, new social values, and changed philosophies of life, basic desires are limited in number and the elemental human needs of today are very similar to those of yesterday. Hunger, sex, vanity, fear, the wish for adventure, and the desire for security persist in one form or another. It is not fundamental human nature which is disintegrating as a result of the impact of new social forces, but the traditional modes of satisfying our wishes. It is our institutions, our customs, our ways of doing things which are now called upon to demonstrate that they are performing the functions which tradition has assigned them. The social heritages embodied in our foremost institutions—government, industry and business, churches, schools, welfare and recreational agencies, political parties, etc.—are being re-examined to justify their expenditure of funds and energies. Pragmatic tests are being applied and are being accepted (very gradually, to be sure) by public opinion as the final arbiters of the form and policy of social organization.

And, contrary to the conventional view, this is indeed all

very hopeful. It indicates a dynamic rather than a static social order—the prospect of progress. Optimism is justified because social disorganization is a necessary prelude to reorganization upon a more adequate basis of knowledge. Thus, disintegration presages more satisfying adjustments of social structures to functions and a more enlightened approach to the problems of social control.

In this period panaceas are inevitable. The prevalence of politicians and the absence of leaders possessed of knowledge with regard to social arrangements is widespread and leads to general confusion. Yet here and there more careful investigations are being made and experiments performed which will ultimately lead to better adjustment of social customs and institutions to community and national needs. A clear example is found in local city government where old institutions are being evaluated and new forms slowly adopted to eliminate traditional abuses.

THE SCIENTIFIC EVALUATION OF INSTITUTIONS

It is important to survey needs in new situations in order to get facts upon which to base new programs, but it is probably more important to test programs already in operation. The effectiveness of accepted institutions needs to be scientifically determined. Only in this way, on the basis of the logic of past experience, can new programs be economically formulated; and such new procedures will necessarily be regarded as experimental until their results have been demonstrated. It should be specifically noted, however, that new social measures must somehow be invented to correct current maladjustment and that experimental programs, contrary to traditional procedure, can ordinarily be set up in such a way as to make possible a continuing self-evaluation. Research needs to be a concomitant of a program designed to perform a function as well as a preceding and subsequent process.

The amount of purely scientific evaluation of specific institutions has been very limited, however. This is, on the

one hand, because of the absence of public or professional interest and a resultant lack of funds or opportunity for carrying on investigations; and, on the other, because of the loose thinking and the imperfections of our instruments of measurement which have often resulted in superficial "surveys." And, of course, there are pseudoscientific researches promoted by the exigencies of publicity and the practical problem of securing financial backing for institutions. These studies, made to some extent in the interest of "ballyhoo," are probably inevitable because of the necessity of motivating popular giving through sentiments and types of intelligence alien to scientific and technological necessities

The very demands of scientific method are themselves a practical handicap in the successful pursuit of such a project. To the layman—business man, social worker, teacher, reformer, etc., the methods of social research often seem inscrutable, even futile. The expert who is conscientious and who does not play up to a popular audience, however, cannot be guided by reactions of this type. If he is to avoid fallacious conclusions and specious generalizations which represent the wish fulfillment of protagonists of some "good cause" or institutional program, he must follow a rigidly scientific method in so far as his techniques, resources, coöperation, and the nature of his data permit.

The real test of the validity of an institutional program is its success in the performance of its functions. In some institutions these functions have been obscured by tradition. In some cases, there is controversy even within the institution itself as to what functions it properly serves. In other cases, outsiders criticize an institution because it is neglecting its significant functions. It is necessary, therefore, in the beginning of an attempt to evaluate an institution to discover its expressed functions as a point of departure for the research program. An evaluation of the validity of an expressed function itself, however, in-

volves not only testing a program, but also a critique of the philosophy of social work and community organization.

Not only school programs, but other educational procedures and the work of the so-called "character-building" and recreational agencies are being studied to determine their success in the performance of their functions. The effectiveness of institutions of this type can be measured fundamentally only in terms of their influence upon their members or participants. The real test of a given program of health education, for example, is its carry-over into the health habits of persons subjected to it. The criterion of successful language instruction is the achievement of ability to read and speak a language intelligibly. The acid test of the success of a character-building agency is, negatively, the absence of adjustment problems or delinquent behavior in the persons who have participated in its program and, positively, the acquisition of wholesome personalities and the qualities of good citizenship.

THE MEASUREMENT OF INFLUENCE

The evaluation of the work of the character-building agency, which is a problem of the measurement of its influence upon its members, is the most difficult type of social research because of the large number of variable influences whose effect it is hard to estimate. These influences represent all the educational and conditioning factors outside the immediate program of the institution which affect the attitudes and behaviors of its participants. Studies of influence often fall short of scientific validity, also, because of a failure to establish proper control groups of non-participants. Another source of error is to be found in a failure rigidly to apply objective criteria of success. In many cases, the lack of scientific techniques, the limitations of the data available, and the conditions within which such investigations must be pursued are factors impairing their scientific outcome.

An illustration of the failure to establish adequate con-

trol groups is cited by Thomas and Thomas in a case of the evaluation of the results of the New York City Bureau of Children's Guidance.¹ In this case, "No attempt was made to discover how great a proportion of children having the same difficulties as children in the group treated by the Bureau and subject to approximately the same influences with the sole exception of psychiatric treatment would make a 'successful' adjustment." Without such a control group, "The most that can be said of such an evaluation is that it shows the proportion of successes occurring coincidentally, but not necessarily attributable to, certain specific sorts of treatment."

An illustration of inadequate criteria for the measurement of influence is indicated by a study of religious education in New Haven, Connecticut.² Eleven community organizations used only two objective criteria of success; viz., number of participants and financial support. Five executives used in addition three subjective criteria; viz., reaction of the clergy, appraisal of the personnel as to the educational effectiveness of the work done, and observations of the effect of the program upon community life. All agencies used a subjective criterion they called public opinion. Subjective criteria were based solely upon personal and group opinions. Several executives stated, however, that it was essential for a real evaluation of their programs to determine the character and conduct changes in their participants, but none of the organizations used these two criteria because of the absence of any technique for applying them. The New Haven study emphasizes the "failure to appreciate fully the importance of periodic evaluation and measurements as bases for program reconstruction and guidance." The difficulty of evaluation by an agency of its own work on account of "the pressure of administrative detail

¹See William I. Thomas and Dorothy S. Thomas, *The Child in America* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1928), p. 149. A careful study of this volume is recommended for all persons interested in the methodology of the measurement of influence, it undoubtedly represents the most incisive and most comprehensive treatment of this subject. See especially the sections dealing with practical and research programs, Parts II and III.

²See Hugh Hartshorne and J. Quinter Miller, *Community Organization in Religious Education* (New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 1932), pp. 111-113.

in under-staffed organizations" is also indicated. Furthermore, it is suggested that "adequate measurement obviously waits upon further experimentation, but adequate appraisal of growth and efficiency waits upon measurement. The elaboration of criteria and the development of scientific procedures for applying them are among the most critical problems confronting community organizations in religious education."⁸

The comments of the New Haven study upon the problems of evaluating the success of community organizations in religious education in a specific community apply in large measure to evaluating the work of educational, recreational, and character-building agencies in general. The inadequacy of frequently used criteria is obvious. "Number of participants," for example, even though objective, is not related to the quality of results accomplished. Growing numbers may even indicate failure when related to existing facilities. Again, "financial support," although equally objective, may depend upon the spectacular nature of the program, the skill of the publicity department, or the whim of public sentiment. The subjective criteria enumerated are totally inadequate for measurement since they depend upon personal and group opinions subject to personal bias and to observation which is inaccurate, unsystematic, and incomplete.

A possible method of evaluation is in terms of standards, implicit or expressed, in other institutions recognized to be of superior efficiency. This, however, is a substitute for genuine measurement since it presupposes prior scientific investigations upon which these standards have been based.

Many studies in the interest of building better institutional programs have tended to follow the method of complete description, using both the observational and statistical techniques without much attempt at the actual measurement of influence either by the use of statistics or case studies. Such studies have often assumed criteria not strictly accept-

⁸*Op cit*, p 113

able for an acid test of influence upon the behavior and character of participants. Nevertheless, studies of this type have performed a real function and have an important contribution to make to the understanding of the structure and functions of social organizations. Accurate and complete description by any objective technique, whether it be graphic, statistical, or literary, is an indispensable tool of all social science and affords an essential background for the more quantitative or more analytical types of measurement.

Likewise, the place of logical analysis and synthesis in studies of this type is sometimes overlooked. Case studies and statistical tables or correlations are meaningless and futile without careful and thoroughgoing interpretation which depends for its validity upon the avoidance of logical fallacies. The interpretation of the organized data of a research, for example, is inadequate unless based upon a comprehensive review of all available materials in the study which have any possible bearing upon the point in question. Sociological facts have a great variety of ramifications and interrelationships which demand a more comprehensive visualization of data than is usually customary among students of social problems or even among specialists in different techniques of research.

THE BOYS' CLUB STUDY

The foregoing paragraphs, which have dealt with some aspects of the problem of evaluating the work of social institutions and the measurement of their influence, have been introductory to the methods of a study whose purpose has been the evaluation of the boys' club, an institution which embraces a variety of educational, recreational, and character-building activities. In 135 cities and towns throughout the United States, 260 separate boys' clubs with a total membership of 247,000 (on January 1, 1932) have been organized and are in operation.⁴ The gross assets

⁴Data on the work of the boys' clubs in the United States are to be found in the 1932 January Yearbook of the Boys' Clubs of America, 420 Lexington Avenue, New York, N. Y.

of these clubs (organizations used exclusively for boys, not including 172 clubs with 185,841 members connected with such institutions as settlements and community houses) including buildings, equipment, and camps is set at \$20,975,000. Annual operating expenses are approximately \$2,133,400. A total of 5,386 boys' workers are required to staff these 260 clubs.

The boys' club program, although differently organized in different units, may be divided into physical, health, musical, vocational, and general aspects. The physical activities include athletics and gymnastics with Red Cross courses. The health program emphasizes physical examinations and dental clinics with resultant medical and dental treatments. The musical work involves the development of bands, orchestras, and vocal groups. The vocational classes are organized to teach woodworking, plastic arts, household arts, graphic arts, and miscellaneous activities including aeroplane modeling, automechanics, barbering, chemistry, office work, journalism, poultry raising, etc. Under the general aspects of the boys' club program fall camping, group clubs, Boy Scout programs, club newspapers, dramatics, moving pictures, savings banks, and *Evergreen Clubs* (open 12 months). It should be noted that all these activities may not be in operation in a given club unit, and in different units emphasis upon certain types of activities may be different.

Through this general type of program, the boys' clubs assume that they are performing their cardinal function which is expressed in the motto of the national organization, "Character building for citizenship." This motto is well justified as a purpose, in theory at least, for these clubs minister largely to boys in sections of communities where recreational facilities are inadequate and where home life cannot offer sufficient leisure-time activities, particularly in congested urban areas. It has been generally believed and so stated by such persons as judges, editors, and social workers, as well as by business men and other laymen in-

terested in boys' work, that the boys' club has a decidedly preventive effect upon juvenile delinquency and consequently upon crime, and actually reduces delinquency and crime when it enters areas characterized by high delinquency rates. In appealing for funds the boys' clubs themselves have come to place a major emphasis upon their effect on juvenile delinquency as a justification for their program.

Questions have been raised,⁶ however, as to whether or not boys' clubs have had facilities extensive enough to reach a large percentage of the boy population requiring their influence and as to whether or not they have been successful in reaching effectively the delinquent and the potential delinquent. In one instance where it was claimed that a striking reduction (73 per cent) in juvenile delinquency was brought about by the establishment of a large and vigorous boys' club, it has been suggested that the reduction was more apparent than real and was produced by a change in the policy of the police in the precinct who paroled the boys apprehended to the boys' club rather than bringing them into the juvenile court as had been done previously.⁶ Just what this boys' club unit was able to accomplish with these boys who had been paroled to it was not made clear in any subsequent study. The claims of another club unit were based upon the fact that a very small number (8 per cent) of the total delinquents of the community appearing upon the police blotter during a given year were boys' club members.⁷ The fallacy in the interpretation of such figures, if unchecked by more careful study, is obvious: If such a club, even though it has a membership of 5,000 boys, draws largely from the more privileged classes of the community, it is manifest that it could not possibly include a large percentage of the delinquents of the community because it does not draw its membership from the areas of the city or the social groups from which the delinquents come. It is plain, therefore, that such claims, while they may be completely

⁶Thomas and Thomas, *op cit*, p. 191 ff

⁷*Ibid*, p. 193

⁸*Ibid*, p. 194.

justified upon further analysis, can only be made with positive assurance on the basis of more objective scientific studies than have usually been possible in such cases.

It is greatly to the credit of the boy's clubs that they themselves have been among the first to recognize the need for research along these lines. This is indicated in the following statement made by the director of education of the Boys' Clubs of America at the time of the formulation of the research plan embodied in the Boys' Club Study^a

For more than a year, we in the Boys' Clubs of America have been convinced that our rather striking claims as to the effects of the Boys' Club in the reduction of juvenile delinquency ought to be subjected to the test of thorough and accurate scientific research

In its promotional and service activities, our organization during the 21 years of its existence has consistently placed a rather marked emphasis upon the educational, developmental, and health-promoting activities of the Boys' Club, but during the past few years, with the ever increasing discussion of crime and delinquency, we are conscious of a marked change of emphasis, so that today the appeal of our work for personal and financial support has come to be quite largely upon this basis. The literature which comes to our office from the local clubs relating to campaigns for their regular support as well as for capital investments in buildings and equipment, very generally plays up the menace of undirected leisure and both directly and by implication makes large claims for the Club as a means of reducing boy delinquency

You are probably familiar with some of the more striking of these claims, such, for example, as that based upon the statement of Judge Arnold of Chicago that the Union League Boys' Club^b in that city caused a decline of 73 per cent in juvenile crime in the district it served, and that in the neighborhood of the Boys' Club of New York 60 per cent less juvenile delinquency is found than in other similar areas on the lower East Side. These two claims have recently played a significant part in the financing of two new club buildings costing about a million dollars

No one has ever definitely traced the causal relation between the activities of these two clubs and the community conditions as revealed by the percentages given above—figures we have

^aExcerpt from a letter from Mr. R. K. Atkinson, Director of Education, Boys' Clubs of America, Inc., addressed to a member of the board of trustees of the Bureau of Social Hygiene, and dated December 8, 1927

^bFor a description of this club see Frederic M. Thrasher, *The Gang: A Study of 1,313 Gangs in Chicago* (Chicago, Ill.: The University of Chicago Press, 1927), pp. 520-523

no valid reason to question, yet if the remedy is as effective as such figures would indicate the good news should be widely broadcast, and if they cannot be substantiated we must modify our claims. There is a real opportunity here for an honest piece of research

Obviously the assumption that boys' clubs are preventive of crime is of far-reaching significance, if true, because of the possibility of a more widespread application of the boys' club program to the solution of the vitally important problem of American crime. It is for this reason that it has been pertinently pointed out that if "the claims of certain of these clubs are correct, it would be very important to know as fully as possible the conditions which have produced this relative success."¹⁰ To test the validity of this assumption by means of a more careful scientific study than had been possible heretofore, seemed, therefore, to be a proper and important undertaking. The Boys' Clubs of America¹¹ were interested in securing an impartial scientific study of this type and took the initiative in the fall of 1927 in having a university¹² through the department of sociology of its School of Education undertake such a research project. The project has been financed through a gift of \$37,500 by the Bureau of Social Hygiene of New York City with a liberal provision of scholarships by New York University. The author of this article, because of his studies of boy life and the group factors in juvenile delinquency in Chicago,¹³ was asked to become the director of the investigation; and the project, the Boys' Club Study of New York University, was initiated in the spring of 1928 with the full cooperation of the boys' clubs

It is important to note a fundamental characteristic of this study, however, which differentiates it from some similar undertakings; viz., that while an essential part of the plan of research was the coöperation of the national organization of boys' clubs, as well as that of the boys' club

¹⁰Thomas and Thomas, *op cit*, p. 195

¹¹Then the Boys' Club Federation of America

¹²New York University

¹³See Thrasher, *op cit*

units whose programs were to be the subject of scientific scrutiny, yet financing by a research foundation and organization of the project in a university assured a complete independence of the agency conducting the research from any control or influence of any kind emanating from any boys' club group or organization. Thus, it may be discerned that the outcome of this study will be free from any bias arising from a personal, professional, or financial interest vested in the institution evaluated. In this way one of the fundamental shortcomings of self-evaluation by an organization, even when undertaken in the most impartial spirit, has been removed.

ORGANIZATION AND METHODS OF STUDY

The general purpose of the Boys' Club Study is the determination of the effects of boys' clubs upon their members and upon nonmembers in the local areas which they serve, with especial reference to the reduction of delinquency and its prevention. The plan of research includes a study of six boys' club units, three in Greater New York and three outside New York City.¹⁴

In order to determine whether or not a boys' club has the effect of influencing the conduct of its members in desirable ways it is necessary to use a comparative method. In the first place, the types of boys who are being influenced by the club and their backgrounds must be discovered in order to determine whether the club is reaching the type of boy whose conduct needs most to be improved. Secondly, it is necessary to compare club boys with nonclub boys to see if the same types of boys in the club become less problems after participating in club activities than those outside. In the third place, the boys who join the club must be compared with themselves before and after they

¹⁴It should be noted that these six club units and the areas they serve are to remain anonymous so far as published reports are concerned. The results of this research will be significant from the standpoint of the principles involved without the identification of localities, staff, or participants in the boys' club program.

So far as possible, all methods described in these articles have been applied to a single boys' club unit and the area which it serves in order that the conclusions from the Study may be supported by as much interrelated data as possible in the same social situation.

join to determine whether or not, other things being equal, their conduct improves with participation in club activities. In the fourth place, boys who drop out and cease to be members or boys who are more or less casual members (in-and-out) must be compared with nonmembers, with themselves before joining and during the period of participation, and with boys who remain members in the club. The "outs" are a particularly important group because a certain percentage of them represent boys whom the club program has failed to hold for one reason or another. And, in the fifth place, a number of comparisons need to be made between various groups within the club itself, such as comparisons of different intermediate clubs of which there may be as many as fifty or sixty in a single large boys' club unit, or comparisons of boys who are leaders and the more active participants in club activities with boys whose club status is less favorable.

In order to secure data upon which to base these comparisons and to discover other facts which are contributory to the main problem of the study, it is necessary to employ scientific methods:

1. The case-study method, which attempts to investigate the whole boy as a person in his total situation in order to determine all the factors which play upon him and to give a basis for an analysis of his conduct in terms of the probable causes involved

2. The statistical method, which counts various types of boys and the characteristics they display, in order to describe the various groups of boys, to discover indexes and correlations, and to suggest causal relationships.

3. The ecological method, which is a study of the distribution of various types of boys and the characteristics of their social backgrounds in the area of study.

A discussion of each of these methods as applied to the problems of the Boys' Club Study is presented by staff members¹⁸ in the articles which follow.

¹⁸ See the Contributors' Page at the end of this issue of *THE JOURNAL* for identification of the staff members who have contributed these articles

CASE STUDIES IN THE BOYS' CLUB STUDY

R. L. WHITLEY

The influence of institutions may be observed by the manner in which they express themselves in the life organization of their participants—by the way in which the values they represent are reflected in the attitudes and behaviors of their members. This influence can be observed by a careful study of overt behavior which is definitely associated with participation in institutional relationships; or by an inquiry into the participant's scheme of life, his attitudes, his experience as he reacts to it, noting at what points the influence of the institution enters; or by recording his behavior in the institution and elsewhere and determining the extent to which it follows definitions laid down in the institutional pattern.

The institution has a definite policy and a definite scheme of relationships for putting this policy into operation¹. Its effectiveness is determined by the extent to which its functionaries and its program are able to impart its patterns of behavior to its participants. To measure its effectiveness other influences which are likely to accomplish the same results must be understood and accounted for. Adequate data upon influences which are likely to contradict institutional definitions must also be available. To determine the influence of a school or of a boys' club upon the behavior of its charges, it is necessary to have a clear understanding of what it hopes to accomplish, of the nature of the charges for whom it is responsible, and of its influence in relation to the other influences which are playing upon its participants. It is also necessary to describe the methods used by school or club in imparting a scheme of life, and to record concretely how these methods function in the social situations involving its participants.

¹For a definition of the institution see William Graham Sumner's *Folkways* (Boston Ginn and Company, 1907)

The person² brings to the institution a definite equipment, in the way of intelligence, temperament, physical constitution, attitudes, habits, a philosophy of life, which it must recognize, and which will condition the extent to which its influence can be made effective. He also brings a body of experiences which have formulated themselves into ways of behaving and which have already selected from the environment numbers of stimuli to which he is responsive. Moreover, he already has status in a number of groups, in some of which his rôle is satisfying, while in others it may be unpleasant. His behavior in one group, therefore, cannot be understood except in terms of his behavior in a variety of other groups. The extent to which he becomes a real participant in the activities of the institution will be determined by the extent to which he feels impelled to belong there. If the institution touches but lightly his interests and wishes, if it cannot make a direct and personal appeal to him, it is not expected that it will modify his attitudes or behavior to any extent.

The person moves in two kinds of situations: those which are selected for him and those which he selects for himself. The school is representative of the first type, the boys' club ordinarily represents the second. Every boy under a certain age must attend school; boys in areas served by boys' clubs may choose whether or not they will be members of a club, of a gang, or of neither. The success of the school in its task can be determined to some extent by objective achievement tests and by an observation of the behavior of the child in his group life. It expects, among other things, stereotyped forms of behavior, it imparts a definite content in its curriculum. The boys' club, on the other hand, looks for its end products in terms of attitudes and of behavior, which may be determined, but which are not so tangible as some of the more obvious results of schooling.

The fundamental relationship in which ideas, knowledge,

²The term *person* has a technical meaning, viz., the individual in his social relationship or "the individual plus status."

and attitudes develop is a social situation in which personalities are interacting with each other. In such situations the individual may or may not wish to achieve a satisfactory status, but in any event, attitudes and the behaviors of other people are constantly stimulating him and provoking responses

His responses in any situation are conditioned by his ability, by his emotional equipment, by his physical constitution, by attitudes and habits already formed, and by wishes already functioning.

The question of the effect of a boys' club on a given boy, then, is bound up with determining what his equipment is, with knowing his previous and present groups and the past and present influences conditioning him; and with a study of his attitudes, his habits, his wishes, and his rôles in his social milieu. What was he when he entered the club situation? What changes have occurred in his behavior since then? Have these changes in behavior been due to the club or to other influences in the community?

The answers to these questions involve a complete study of the whole person in the total range of his experiences in his social world. This purpose the case study attempts to accomplish. The case method is in part descriptive; the person is described as accurately as existing techniques permit by the physician, the psychiatrist, the psychologist, he is described also by those who have known him in his social situations, furthermore, he describes himself and his experiences. Upon the basis of this information he is studied as completely as possible in relation to his social backgrounds. The case study emphasizes the process by which the person has become what he is, and is therefore interested in behavior sequences and trends rather than the mere aggregation of facts about him. Rather than merely stating what his physical constitution or level of intelligence is, for example, this method attempts to describe how his equipment, physical or mental, has defined him in relation

to his fellows, has created a rôle for him, has conditioned his responses in his social groups.

Some of the situations and influences in the community which may contribute to the development of attitudes on the part of the boy are the family, the school, the boys' club, the motion picture, play groups, gangs, members of the opposite sex, newspapers, radios, the church, policemen, older boys, neighborhood gossip and opinion, social workers, burlesques, penny arcades, prostitutes, criminals, pool halls, taxi dance halls, novels, magazines, institutions for delinquents, other nationality and racial groups, courts, probation officers, speakeasies, etc. The problem of determining the extent to which any one of a number of such influences has entered the life of the person demands an approach that studies his total situation rather than any given segment of it. This point of view is fundamental, not only to valid case-study method, but to the science of sociology itself.

Having the above considerations in mind, it was the writer's task to study a group of about 60 problem boys to determine the effects of the program of a boys' club unit upon them.⁸ It was felt that studies of such boys who had been club members would reveal how the club actually functioned with reference to the truant, the delinquent, or the otherwise unadjusted boy. All the boys studied intensively lived in the area served by one club unit; they had been defined at one time or another as problems by the school or as delinquents by the courts; for purposes of study access was had to them through educational or correctional institutions. They ranged in age from about twelve to seventeen years. The problems for which they were treated ranged, in seriousness, from disobedience in the classroom to the possession of firearms and to robbery. The studies made of them brought to light other problems as serious as those for which they had originally been dealt

⁸A number of additional case studies of problem boys and their brothers from a boys' club area—some members, some nonmembers of the club—have been made available through the cooperation of the Crime Commission of New York State.

with About one half of them had boys' club experience, and half of them had not.

Information about these boys was secured from the boys themselves, their teachers, their associates, their siblings, their parents, social workers, public-school records, the records of organizations which had served them or their families,⁴ probation officers, etc.

The boys were studied in several types of situations. About fifteen of them were observed in their family groups, several of them over a period of a year or more; they all sat for several interviews in which information was solicited concerning their backgrounds and attitudes; the writer studied two groups of them personally in the boys' club where practically all their juvenile male associates from the block where they lived were organized into the club situation; several of them were subjected to study in behavior clinics; many of them were observed in a variety of school situations such as the classroom, the pupil-teacher situation, play situation, the shop (wood and metal work), the assembly period, the physical-exercise period, the disciplinary situation, and in a variety of informal groupings. A number of them were observed in their play activities on the street, in their gang groups, in the writer's home, in the motion-picture theater, and in a number of groupings in different parts of the city outside their own neighborhoods. The effort was made to observe the boys in as many natural groupings as possible where they were free to initiate their own activities largely unimpeded by the adult world.

Exhaustive studies were made of several boys to determine in detail their personalities and their social situations in order to discover the ways in which the boys' club had influenced them and in which they had reacted to its program. These studies were designed also to determine how other institutional and group definitions were imparted to them

Each boy was given one, and several boys were given

⁴Names of the families of all the boys were cleared through the Social Service Exchange

more than one physical examination. Practically all of the boys were given the Stanford Revision of the Binet-Simon Intelligence tests,⁶ and more than half of them were given the Stenquist Mechanical Aptitude test.⁶ A few of the boys were given psychiatric interviews by qualified psychiatrists in child guidance clinics and hospitals. The writer used the Woodworth-Matthews Psychoneurotic Inventory⁷ as a guide to one phase of the interviews with most of the boys, because it covered a wide range of attitudes which might be highly charged emotionally and, hence, significant in understanding their behavior. It was felt that such an approach would be more satisfactory than an unguided interview in which the writer or a psychiatrist followed his own "hunches."

The interviews with the boys to secure from them information relating to their general experience and attitudes was guided by a schedule which itemized the pertinent backgrounds. More than half of the boys were interviewed concerning their motion-picture experiences. Several boys sat in interviews on more than a dozen different occasions.⁸

The observations of the boys were guided by schedules which the writer prepared.⁹ The records of the behavior of the boys observed were written in detail and concretely as soon as possible after the observations were made. The writer was able to record most of what was said in an interview with a typewriter which he used during the interview period.

The writer experimented with a "controlled-observer" technique in the school situation but found it unfitted to the task at hand. He had several observers reporting simultaneously on the behavior of the same boy, noting the

⁶See Lewis M. Terman, *The Measurement of Intelligence* (New York: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1916).

⁶See J. L. Stenquist, *Measurements of Mechanical Ability* (New York: Columbia Contributions to Education, 1923), also, *Stenquist Assembling Tests of General Mechanical Ability, Description and Manual of Directions* (Chicago: C. H. Stenquist Company, 1922).

⁷A discussion of this inventory may be had in John Slavson's *The Delinquent Boy* (Boston: Richard G. Badger, The Gorham Press, 1926).

⁸For a more detailed discussion of the interview method as used by the writer, see his "Interviewing the Problem Boy," *THE JOURNAL OF EDUCATIONAL SOCIOLOGY*, October and November 1931.

⁹See "The Observation of the Problem Boy," *Ibid.*, February 1930.

occurrence and recurrence of rigidly defined behavior acts by means of checks on a hand chart. This technique, which was interesting from the standpoint of a methodology, did not yield sufficient information about a boy, however, to make its continuance advisable. Time and resources were lacking to work out norms or to gather a sufficient number of observations on each boy and on the group as a whole to justify statistical tabulation. Furthermore, the boys resented being observed in this manner, and registered such opposition that it was apparent that the observers were recording the responses of the boys to themselves rather than their responses to each other and to the school personnel. Another difficulty of this method was to record acts sufficiently significant for behavior and personality diagnosis.

Every effort was made to make the case studies of the boys comparable with each other. It was not possible to give intelligence tests and to administer the psychoneurotic interviews to all of them, because of the practical difficulties encountered, because boys dropped out of school during the course of the study, and because of the time limitations of the study itself. Sufficient information was secured about each boy, however, to give a definite idea of the extent to which the boys' club had entered into his experiences, to compare his background with that of nonmembers, and to see the boys' club in relation to the other influences to which he was subject.

An effort was made to check the accuracy of the statements given by the boys by comparing their statements with statements of others about them, by comparing statements about an identical experience given by the same boy at different times (internal consistency), and by comparing his statement with records of various institutions. More important than factual accuracy, however, is the fact that the boy's statement of his experiences and attitudes represents his response to his social world. If a boys' club member conceived of himself as a gangster, sex offender, pick-

pocket, or some other undesirable social type, and recounted experiences in keeping with this rôle, it was at once evident that the boys' club had not altered undesirable attitudes. If, on the other hand, his conception of himself and his reaction to his environment were consistent with approved social definitions and specifically with definitions observed to be imparted as a result of participation in the club, it was clear that he had been influenced desirably.

It has been indicated above that the case study is in part descriptive. Another important characteristic of the method is its analytical approach to its synthesized data. The analysis of the behavior of a given boy with reference to the influence of the boys' club on his behavior has been effected in several ways. Analysis is made by logical inference, by noting related sequences in behavior and the point at which the boys' club influence enters these sequences, by noting the extent to which the boy is a product of other influences, etc. The following formulations of essential organization of data are suggestive of the method employed:

1. A statement as to whether the boy had physical or intellectual limitations which would interfere with the influence of the club by creating a special rôle for him.

2. A statement of emotional conflicts which might militate against the influence of the club: such emotional problems as fear of the boys in the neighborhood where the club was located, decided emotional instability making it impossible for him to associate at all satisfactorily with other boys; a lack of emotional attachments which the club could utilize in developing loyalties to social values; etc.

3. A determination of his interests and wishes and whether they centered in the program of the club or in activities not related to it.

4. A determination of the groups vital to the boy in which he desired status, and the patterns of behavior in evidence in such groups. This involves a knowledge as to whether any group vital to the boy participated in the program of the club or carried on its activities outside the club.

5. A statement of groups to which he had been responsive in the past, and of the patterns of behavior in evidence in such groups.

6. A statement of the habits which he had worked out as a result of his experience, such as habits of regularity, industry, respect for other people's rights, respect for accepted social symbols in his community, habits as evidenced by his conception of the values in question as well as by his behavior towards them. Some boys, for instance, habitually play truant, steal, engage in depredations on property, openly flaunt themselves in the face of adult authority, while others do not. Some boys consistently adjust themselves to the requirements imposed in the school, in their families, in the boys' club, etc., while others do not. Some boys give a verbal statement of attitudes perfectly consistent with accepted social values in the community; some boys express attitudes which are at variance with the social code at many points.

7. A statement of the extent to which a boy has participated in the program of the club, of the respects in which the club interests him, of the extent to which he values his status in that group, of the extent to which he accepts club definitions as his own definitions of the situation.

8. A statement of any changes in behavior and attitudes which seem to have been associated with participation in the program of the club and the process involved in such changes, or the extent to which the boy's reaction patterns remain the same although he participates in the program of the club.

9. A statement of the reasons, as given by the boy himself, as to why he does not participate in the program of the club.

10. A statement of the agencies in the community which have brought to the boy's attention the program of the club and of methods used by any persons or groups to invite his participation in the club, and his response to these efforts.

11. A statement of the attitudes assumed towards the club by the groups most vital to him, such as the family, the gang, other groups which the boy respects, etc.

12. A comparison of the boys' club experiences of the boy with his other experiences.

13. A comparison of the stated attitudes, behaviors, abilities, physical constitutions, temperament, social backgrounds of boys by pairs properly equated, one of whom is a member of the club, one of whom is not.

14. A statement of the methods used by the club for enlisting the boy's interest in its program, for developing traits of character, for changing his behavior, and for communicating to him community values, and a statement of his responses to these methods.

It is a relatively simple matter, by the use of such processes of inference as are outlined above, to determine

whether or not a boy's attitudes and behavior patterns correspond with the requirements laid down by the club. It is a much more difficult matter to determine whether or not this is to be attributed to the influence of the club. The answer to such a question is probably the greatest strength of the case-study method, for it attempts to describe the boy in all of the relationships in which he moves, and it lays a sound foundation of interrelated facts for determining by logical analysis the relative importance of the various influences to which he has been subjected. A method which does not get complete data on single cases cannot adequately describe the complex social situations within which boys move and, therefore, cannot provide the groundwork for logical inferences with regard to effective influences.

Attitude scales, paper-and-pencil tests, psychoneurotic inventories, intelligence tests, and statistical associations, when used as numerical indices of personality, throw but scant, and, at best, indirect light on questions relating to *process* as distinguished from an accretion of facts; such methods reveal the association of phenomena but do not indicate how and why the phenomena are associated. Measurement presupposes units which are fixed and unchanging, which do not vary with the situation, but remain constant. It is this variable aspect of social behavior, its disposition to change in response to impinging stimuli, that makes quantitative measurement so difficult. Since behavior is changeable and dynamic, is responsive to changing situations, a method of study is demanded which recognizes it as such and which makes an effort to describe it as it reacts to complex and changing stimuli. Quantitative measurement of behavior is valuable and revealing, but it cannot perform the functions of complete description and analysis of social phenomena.

By process we mean a series of related changes (sequences) occurring in a series of related situations, any one

change being explained in terms of preceding changes and in terms of the situations in which they occurred. Process as referring to persons means related changes in attitudes and behavior (behavior sequences), one change growing out of those preceding and behavior at any one state in the sequence being determined by preceding changes in preceding situations which have defined the relationships of the person to the situation in question. Intelligence of a given kind, for instance, may place the person in any one of a number of processes, depending upon the situations in which it is defined and upon how the person reacts to these situations. We expect to find the relationship between mental defect and delinquency not by stating that some delinquents are morons (for many are not), but by describing the manner by which mental defect limits the ability of the person to respond in his groups, the definitions of this limited or inadequate response by the groups in question, and the rôle created by the defect for the person concerned—the rôle of the person being defined in terms of the behavior of his groups towards him and of his conception of himself in relation to these groups as well as in terms of his overt behavior towards them.

The case-study method by recognizing this variable aspect of social behavior, by picturing completely the person in his social backgrounds, using every method that promises knowledge about him, is adequate in studying personal behavior in enabling us both to see a person as he is at a given moment in time and space, and in enabling us to see the process by which he arrived at what he is—the influences which, at various points in his life, developed attitudes on his part that further conditioned his responses to his world of experience.

The criticism has been made that the case-study method is not *scientific*.¹⁰ Critics complain that because the soci-

¹⁰Karl Pearson, in his *Grammar of Science* (London: Walter Scott, 1892) looks upon science as method. It has been defined by others, however, as a body of phenomena, the behavior of which can be predicted with mathematical certainty, or as the method which can predict with mathematical certainty the phenomena with which it deals.

ologist cannot manipulate human behavior as machines, chemicals, and the phenomena of the physical world can be manipulated, that because he cannot predict mathematically and invariably human behavior, he is not a scientist. It should be pointed out, however, that human personalities are fundamentally different from the phenomena of the physical world even though compounded of elements most of which can be analyzed in the laboratory. The ability to reason, to modify responses extensively, to use a language, to handle abstract ideas, to conceptualize experience, to remember and anticipate experiences not immediate to the senses are distinctly human phenomena which clearly differentiate human behavior from other types. These peculiarities of human reactions suggest that, if we are to have an adequate method for the study of social behavior, it must be adapted to the peculiarities of a great part of its data which cannot be measured in quantitative terms.

The point needs to be made that the sociologist is dealing primarily not with organic phenomena, but with social phenomena. The behavior of the person as an organism can be profitably approached by comparing it with behavior in the animal world. But in the respects noted above social behavior is different from animal behavior. These differences¹¹ between human and other phenomena demand a method, therefore, which essays to study human behavior as human behavior and not as something else. Even in biology, however, where remarkable progress has been made in a description of organic phenomena the latest judgment is that the organism must be studied as a whole and that separate unit causes are by no means fully explanatory. The case-study method utilizes every technique likely to reveal pertinent data about the human personality as such, attempts to learn as much about the person as possible, and

¹¹This distinction is clearly put by Robert Briffault in "Evolution of Human Species," *Scientia*, June, 1927. The article also appears in *The Making of Man* (New York: Modern Library, 1931), edited by U. F. Calverton.

having done this, to give some order and meaning to the materials gathered.¹²

CASE STUDIES OF TRUANTS

In order to achieve the valuable insights into mechanisms of behavior in relation to the boys' club made possible only through the case-study method, investigations of nine truant boys were made by Ethel Reed Jasspon, a staff member of the Boys' Club Study. These studies included physical examination, psychiatric interview, a battery of psychological tests, and a social case history. The boys' club history of each case has been followed up over a period of three years. To indicate the vast amount of data which must be obtained in the development of adequate case studies, it may be pointed out that the summaries of these nine cases require 354 typewritten pages.

CASE STUDIES OF SUPERIOR BOYS¹³

Case studies of a number of superior boys have been completed using methods comparable with those described above so far as applicable to this type of boy.

In selecting boys for this study the criteria of superiority adopted have been sociological—his rôle in the group, etc.—rather than physical or psychological. A boy was regarded as superior because he occupied a position of leadership in some phase of the life of his own juvenile community. His reputation among adults in his social world was also considered. Some of the characteristics considered singly or in combination as qualifying a boy as superior were energy and initiative, fine personality, popularity among his peers, demonstrated ability in athletics, leadership in dramatic, literary, or other activities at school or in recreation centers, and reputation for reliability and general ability among adults, including parents, teachers, and recreation leaders. In addition the boys were observed before being selected for this work in recreational situations where they had a chance to display their ability to

¹²A more detailed discussion of the various approaches utilized by the case study method of the analysis of qualitative material, and of other contributions which the case study may make in research may be found in the writer's "The Case-Study as a Method of Research," *Social Forces*, May 1932.

¹³Under the supervision of the director of the Boys' Club Study. For a full account of the use of the superior boy in this study see Frederic M. Thrasher, "Social Attitudes of Superior Boys in an Interstitial Community," contained in *Social Attitudes* (New York Henry Holt and Company, 1931), edited by Kimball Young.

express themselves, and to interpret their own observations to members of their own group.¹⁴

Just as in the study of problem boys, case studies have revealed the mechanisms making for truancy and delinquency in relation to boys' club influence; so in the case of superior boys, insights have been obtained as to the factors and influences contributing to such superiority in relation to the effect of boys' club participation or its absence.

It is obvious that a study of boys' club contacts in the full setting of social, physical, and psychological backgrounds made possible by the case-study approach is far more revealing as to the underlying explanation of boys' club influence or its absence than any other type of investigation. The limitations of the method for purposes of generalization upon large numbers of cases, however, are also apparent; hence, the problem of the measurement of influence necessitates the use of all other available methods of social research which can be employed concomitantly to throw light upon the problems indicated. We turn, then to statistical and ecological methods and related and subsidiary studies, which will be presented in the following pages.

¹⁴Young, *op cit*, pp 239-40

THE STATISTICAL ASPECTS OF THE BOYS' CLUB STUDY

JANET FOWLER NELSON

That statistics has become an invaluable tool in social research is being increasingly recognized. "Occasionally one hears protest from those who do not fully understand its nature or its inevitableness. And far too seldom there is raised a feeble cry against its misapplication."¹ Indeed it is this latter point which has perhaps induced the most bitter controversy. The literature is full of pseudo-statistics: *pseudo* in the sense that statistical methods and formulae have been employed in the treatment of data of doubtful value, of data lacking genuine quantitateness; in the sense that the premises on which the statistical formulae have been constructed have not been fulfilled; in the sense that glaring misinterpretation and exaggeration of the meaningfulness of the results has been indulged in. As Dorothy S. Thomas points out, the strength of the statistical method lies in the fact that it devises and prescribes units of measurement which presuppose that the data must be quantitative and objective. It is limited, however, by the security and genuine quantitateness of the data themselves and both statistical manipulation and subsequent interpretation of results depend upon the rigid assumptions on the basis of which the formulae were originally devised. However, in turning to statistics one must recognize that the investigator is accepting merely a substitute for experiment. "Although never giving the certainty that results from perfectly controlled experiment, it is a method which provides a basis for evaluating relationships objectively."² Moreover, statistics as such is primarily interested in variation. The data must be variable and must be collective since the value of the method lies in its capacity to indicate

¹Frank A. Ross, "On Generalization from Limited Social Data," *Social Forces*, X (October 1931), p. 32 ff.

²Dorothy Swaine Thomas, "Statistics in Social Research," *American Journal of Sociology*, XXXV, No. 1, pp. 1-17.

trends, tendencies, and relationships. The statistical method also has an important descriptive function and is indispensable in practical program planning.

We are primarily concerned here with the statistical aspects of the Boys' Club Study, whose purpose has been set forth in a preceding article.³ How many statistics help to answer the questions of the investigation and what is its relation to the other aspects of the research?

One of the major methods of the Boys' Club Study as a whole includes the extensive development of descriptive studies of the boys' club area and its inhabitants, involving the use of life histories and behavior documents with particular reference to the individual's activities in the club and his reactions to the club.⁴ Obviously, these materials are exceedingly important and throw a great deal of light on the adjustment processes. They indicate at what points changes in behavior occur, and what forces seem to be determinants of these changes. But they yield no objective measurement of influence. Nevertheless, these materials are rich; they should lead to important inferences and further hypotheses.

The preceding method must go hand in hand with the statistical approach, wherein simple indices, based on representative samplings of the group under consideration, are evolved which give a more objective, if more limited approach to the measurement of influence. In so far as the data are sound and the methods of analysis adequate, this aspect of the research is of equal importance with that of the case study and the simple verifiable results obtained stand on their own merits. The statistical treatment of the data of the Boys' Club Study indicates differences (in measurable, verifiable, and objective terms) between the boys' club group and the community as a whole. It also is concerned with descriptive and characteristic differences of groups within the boys' club.

³See p 4.
⁴See p 17

The statistical method has been used in many of the minor studies included in the whole research program of the Boys' Club Study. But except for the studies of truancy and delinquency, and of the public library, which are discussed elsewhere, there may be said to be three major statistical phases of the investigation:

1. The statistical analysis of a boys' club (intensive) area in terms of basic sociological data, controlling factors of truancy, delinquency, and boys' club membership. This study is based primarily on State census material (1925, corrected as of 1929).

2. A comparative study of delinquents and nondelinquents in terms of intelligence and emotional stability. This study, psychostatistical in method, by using the same instruments of measurement as did Slawson⁴ in his study of delinquents, makes possible a comparison of delinquent boys (Slawson) with nondelinquents living in a high-rate delinquency area (boys' club area); it also compares boys' club and eligible but non-boys' club groups.

3. Membership study of the same boys' club unit. This, by far the most elaborate of the three projects, uses the Hollerith system to study, from the opening of this unit for approximately three and one-half years, membership, turnover, and club activities in relation to correlative social and economic factors, other community contacts including school and job, and truancy and delinquency.

1. THE STATISTICAL ANALYSIS OF THE BOYS' CLUB (INTENSIVE) AREA

In setting up this analysis of census material, boys' club membership, and truancy and delinquency records, it was necessary first to determine the basic groups involved, *i e.*, basic for purposes of description and comparison. Since the primary consideration was the boys' club, these groups easily divided into families of boys' club members, families of eligible but non-boy's club members, other families and

⁴John Slawson, *The Delinquent Boy* (Boston: Richard G. Badger, 1926)

individuals in the community. Truancy and delinquency, our only available objective indices of antisocial behavior, were studied in terms of their incidence in the community as a whole, and in boys' club versus non-boys' club groups.

Our next problem was to determine exactly what social and economic factors, both in terms of their own incidence and in terms of possible interrelationships, were available for statistical analysis. Basic information on the State census slips included data on individuals in each family unit in terms of: (a) nationality, (b) years in the United States, (c) citizenship, (d) size of family, (e) size of household, (f) age, (g) occupation. These, then, were the factors studied, and, except for tabulation by individuals in terms of an age distribution of all boys from six to sixteen, the family was considered the unit of tabulation. Such were the data which were available. The next question concerned itself with its adequacy and representativeness.

This was peculiarly important for this study for although boys' club membership, truancy, and delinquency records were accepted as fairly objective evidence, we were aware of the limitations of the State census material. It has been repeatedly pointed out that this material is insecure, although our house-to-house check in the fall of 1929 probably reduces this source of error. Checking our figures on total population against an unemployment census we find that our records are probably based on about 78 per cent of the total population. However, despite the adequacy of the size of our sample, we had no assurance of random sampling. The usual assumption in cases such as this is that if omissions have been random and have affected all groups similarly, results are not thereby distorted. Fortunately, however, it was possible to a certain extent to check this assumption. We possessed all truancy and delinquency records as of 1929-1930. Of these families, some appeared among the census slips; some did not, even though we knew they should have been included. The

latter, then, were located and surveyed individually for certain basic census information as of 1929 and boys' club membership status. This "missed" group of truants and delinquents was then compared with those originally appearing in our census records. We were able to conclude that on the whole the two groups did not greatly differ in terms of census data, although there was the suspicion that the broken home (no father) and possibly, as a result, illegal work during school hours or definite neglect (data from truancy records) were possible selective factors operating against inclusion in our original census material. If this conclusion is applied to all "missed" families, results must be interpreted with this limitation in mind.

Another particularly important problem to be considered is the control of dates. In order to keep this constant it was necessary to study all data as of one year, namely, 1929. As has been previously noted, the census material was checked by house-to-house canvas in the fall of 1929, and appropriate changes and additions were noted. Truancy and delinquency records were used as of 1929-1930, using the boys' club membership year beginning in September as the basis for selection. The 1929-1930 boys' club membership was considered basic. Membership during preceding years was taken into account only in so far as the 1929-1930 group had been club members 1, 2, or 3 years previously, plus an additional group of nonmembers labeled simply "previous members of club."

The statistical treatment of the data must next be considered. Here, as is almost always true, the more simple the procedure, the more meaningful are the results in that complicated methods of examining the incidence and possible relationships of various factors sometimes involve one in hazardous assumptions and procedure. The census data lent themselves primarily to a description of the area and to the detection of possible differences existing between families of boys' club members (1-, 2-, or 3-year status), previous boys' club members, truants and delinquents also

classified by boys' club or nonclub status, and eligible but nonmembers. Results, therefore, were presented in terms of the incidence of various factors in these four major groups, in terms of simple distributions, and either in terms of per cent incidence or average incidence depending upon the type of data treated. Appropriate measures of variations and of probable error have been computed when indicated. This study is based on records of 6,744 families and of 4,440 boys between the ages of six and sixteen.

The first part of the report deals with an analysis of club membership (1-, 2-, or 3-year status, as well as previous membership in the club) in terms of total boy population. It also is concerned with the relative number of families of boys' club members in the community. Truancy and delinquency records are analyzed in relation to membership and nonmembership. Age distributions of all males in the community between the ages of six and sixteen are presented, classified appropriately by membership status as well as by truancy and delinquency records.

The rest of this study is devoted to a statistical description of the community, and, within the community group as a whole, to a comparison of families of boys' club members, previous boys' club members, eligible but nonmembers, and truant and delinquent groups in terms of the following factors: (1) birthplace of head of family; (2) recency of immigration; (3) citizenship status; (4) size of household; (5) size of immediate family; (6) occupational status of heads of families in terms of wages, also by classification of jobs; and (7) broken homes.

2. A COMPARATIVE STUDY OF DELINQUENTS AND NONDELINQUENTS

The second major statistical project, in this instance psychostatistical, is a duplication in methods and measuring instruments of part of Slawson's study of the male juvenile delinquent.⁶ It is based on intelligence-test records (Na-

⁶John Slawson, *op cit*

tional Intelligence Test, Forms A and B) and Woodworth-Matthews Psycho-Neurotic Inventory scores of some 800 boys contacted in the fall of 1929 through schools located in the area of this boys' club unit. Without specific reference to the boys' club it was possible actually to examine a large group of boys some of whom were, some of whom were not, members of the club unit and to make appropriate comparisons. Results of this comparison are, of course, primarily descriptive in character. The data is presented in terms of distributions, measures of central tendency, and of variation of test scores with particular reference to significant differences. Perhaps more important are the comparisons we are enabled to make not only with so-called unselected cases—i.e., the groups on which standardization was originally established—but also with Slawson's results. In other words, we examined nondelinquents, *but* they were nondelinquents living in a community which contributes heavily to juvenile delinquency and also a community about which a great deal of correlative descriptive material is available. In the discussion of our findings and in our comparison, factors of age, nationality, and social status were either controlled or evaluated with established norms as well as with Slawson's results. An extension of the study without reference to Slawson's work consisted of a study of educational achievement ratings of the same boys in connection with which the whole problem of grade placement and the psychological implications involved were analyzed. Supplementing this study of the boys in a school situation is a minor study of teachers' attitudes. Wickman's⁷ rating scales were employed, and his results used for purposes of comparison.

3 MEMBERSHIP STUDY OF A LOCAL BOYS' CLUB UNIT

The third and certainly the most elaborate and inclusive of the statistical studies makes use of the Hollerith system⁸

⁷E. K. Wickman, *Children's Behavior and Teachers' Attitudes* (New York: The Commonwealth Fund, 1928).

⁸For a fuller explanation of the nature and value of this important statistical device see the following article.

to classify, sort, tabulate, and correlate all available data obtained from records and investigations of all members of this boys' club unit for three and one-half years. It may be fairly said that its major emphasis is an analysis of membership, but membership in both its positive and negative aspects; membership in relation to club activities, to age, to factors of nationality, economic and social status; to problems of truancy and delinquency; and to the interrelationship of various of these factors.

The Hollerith project makes use of a statistical record card (a 45-column punch card)^o for each boy on which is indicated all available information concerning each boy who has been a member of the boys' club during any one of the four years of the Boys' Club Study program. By a mechanical process these cards are then sorted, classified, and counted for any given factor or combination of factors. All cases, some 12,450 in number, are represented by separate cards. (The scope of the project is indicated by the fact that there are over 125,000 slips pertaining to one boys' club unit alone and possibly four times that number in supplementary files.) The major problem involved, however, has been so to code and record the data that dates may be held constant and all correlative material may be examined as of any given year. In other words we have been interested not only in cumulative records of truancy and delinquency within the club but in their relation to membership status as of each of our four years; in the same way we needed records not only of gross participation in one or more club activities, but participation for any given year or years. Similarly with other types of data, since inherent in this study, has been an effort to facilitate comparative studies of the total boys' club situation from year to year, as well as to study cumulative materials or a permanent club membership group.

On the Hollerith card each column or group of columns is reserved for recording a certain type of data. There are

^oSee Figure II, p. 46

35 such items, records on each of which must be coded so as to be mutually exclusive. There are 10 punches in each column plus an X, Y device which can be used as a stop check, which may thus increase the number of possible mutually exclusive classifications to twelve

The examination of all possible records to determine uniform availability, feasibility of use, and meaningfulness of results, preliminary to the actual set-up of the study, was in itself a major prospect. The subsequent filing and alphabetizing was second only from the standpoint of time consumption to the coding of the data, both of which processes were tremendous clerical undertakings.¹⁰ Even after the preliminary examination of the data, actual handling of the raw material revealed so many flaws that plans were repeatedly discarded and new ones set up. Insecurity of original data, repeated factors of selection operating in its original gathering, even the question of confusion of boys' names—all contributed to the problem. "Thus, the present Hollerith schedule . . . is a result not only of thorough planning but also of an exhaustive amount of actual work."¹¹

In the item-by-item description of the set-up used on the Hollerith card which follows it will be noted that frequently the same type of record, year by year, is not necessarily recorded on adjacent columns as might be expected. This merely reflects one of the practical difficulties encountered. The card had to be so constructed that part of it could be used as a master form for punching additional cards in anticipation of separate studies which did not necessarily need all the correlative data or by virtue of their own construction were limited to a study of a specific year or years. Obviously, this alignment of columns in no way affects the results obtained in this major study, although confusion in coding had to be guarded against

¹⁰The Boys' Club Study gratefully acknowledges the assistance upon these tasks of many workers provided by the Emergency Work Bureau of the Gibson Committee during 1931-1932

¹¹From a statement by Irving V. Solhns, director of the Hollerith project

Columns 1 through 3 indicate by code the present address of each boys' club member, thus facilitating a study of the distributive aspects of club membership and allowing for minor studies wherein correlative data is available only within defined boundaries. Column 4, in an effort to study simple mobility, indicates the number of times the family moved during the four-year period of the study. Columns 5 and 6 indicate year of birth of the boys' club member thus enabling us to control the factor of age or to examine other constant factors in terms of age distributions. Column 7 indicates nationality of the male parent and, using the device for a stop check, indicates whether or not the mother is of the same nationality group. Column 8 records membership status (junior, intermediate, or senior and combinations of these) as of 1928-1929; column 9 similarly indicates the status of the boy in the club during 1929-1930; column 29, status as of 1927-1928; column 30, 1930-1931. Month of joining the club during each of these four years is coded in columns 33, 34.

Column 10 deals with the number of different intermediate clubs to which the boy belonged during his total affiliation with this boys' club unit.¹² The next item considers membership in intermediate clubs rated as "leading," "poor," or both. This, of course, involved a preliminary rating of intermediate clubs, based so far as possible on objective evidence. Incidentally, results based on the control of this factor may or may not substantiate the original rating. A punch in column 12 indicates whether or not a boy belonged to a dramatic club, orchestra, or any hobby club by indicating the number of such clubs to which the boy belonged during the entire period of his affiliation with the boys' club unit under consideration. (Designation of type of club is obviously not allowed for, but such contacts were so relatively few as to justify exclusion of specific designation. Our interest, almost of necessity, was limited

¹²These clubs within the boys' club unit proper refer to the organization of the intermediate division into group clubs for purposes of athletic competition, etc

to amount of participation. Kind of participation in what may almost be termed "extracurricular" activities—so specific and all but universal is the athletic emphasis—while certainly important in any consideration of club program, can be more profitably handled by simple hand tabulations and minor studies).

Column 13 is an exact indication of the boys' status within the boys' club library. It makes use of a rather ingenious device (based on greater or less than average time and number) for picturing not only the length of time during which the boy belonged to the library, but also the number of books drawn by the boy during the club year, 1930-1931. Lack of space prohibited records for more than one year. The season of 1930-1931 was chosen primarily because of the availability of records from the public-library branch patronized by boys' club members of the same date. This correlative material is recorded in columns 25 and 26.

Column 14 in combination with columns 27 and 28 shows the extent (number of different kinds) of participation in physical activities at the boys' club as of 1928-1929, 1929-1930, 1930-1931. Column 15 is a count of the number of different seasons the boy attended the boys' club summer camp. The next items considered are the size of each boys' club member's family; whether one or both parents are living at home (column 16); and occupation of the head of the family of the boys' club member (column 17). Column 18 gives a summary of the boys' affiliation with other organizations outside of the boys' club; i.e., with other athletic clubs, settlements, Y M. C. A.'s, Boy Scouts, etc.

Column 19 is an attempt to study leadership in the boys' club. Here again we were involved in the question of preliminary rating, such as ratings by adult leaders and by the boys themselves. Columns 20, 21, 22, 23 note delinquency, truancy, and neglect status of the boy and of his immediate family during the four-year period from 1927

to 1931. Each column deals with this item for one year. Column 24 is a recapitulation of the total number of delinquency charges against the boy in the four years. Six columns are devoted to the study of "outs," an important group for comparative purposes (An "out" is a boy who drops out of the boys' club. He may return at some later time or remain finally out.)¹² Time of dropping out is considered in four columns, two are devoted to a summation of number of months "out" in the four-year period; similarly, two to number of months of total affiliation with the club. (This latter point is important for *all* members if any analysis is done on other than a crude yearly membership basis)

Columns 39 and 40 indicate availability of additional material on individuals studied. Column 41 indicates whether or not the boy is working and allows for ample classification of his job. Column 42 based on a preliminary study designed to indicate the psychological factors involved is concerned with the boy's hobby. Column 43 indicates frequency of motion-picture attendance. Columns 44-45 by code enable selection of cases in terms of public school attended at time of joining the boys' club and also indicate acceleration or retardation of grade placement.

Thus, information is recorded so as to facilitate selection of cases on some 35 items. Tabulation and resulting distributions of data for each item are simple. Obviously, were that the only interest of the study, no such elaborate device of coding and recording would have been necessary. But it is the relationship of each of these factors to the others which indicates the necessity of a sorting and classifying process such as the Hollerith system furnishes. And it is the incidence of one or more of these factors in any given selected group—whether it be in terms of membership, delinquency, leadership, etc.—which is the basis of this study; *i.e.*, examination of data, holding constant one or several critical factors.

¹²For a more detailed discussion of the phase of the Boys' Club Study dealing with the "outs," see p. 59.

THE HOLLERITH STATISTICAL TECHNIQUE

IRVING V. SOLLINS

In the preceding article the Boys' Club Study set-up of the Hollerith project was described. An attempt will be made here to present a more complete explanation of the nature of the techniques involved and their value in this type of social research. Following the beginnings of social research in projects undertaken on a small scale by separate individuals has come a process of development eventuating in large and highly organized enterprises requiring the integrated efforts of groups and institutions and utilizing the talents of a variety of specialized staff members. This tendency has not resulted from the grandiose ambitions of research workers, but from the necessity for more adequate and conclusive scientific studies.

In the simpler types of studies it is possible to make statistical analyses and tabulations by a hand process, but in the necessarily complex investigations which have been undertaken extensively in recent years, hand methods no longer suffice to bring results without exorbitant costs. In some cases certain types of results would be impossible if sole reliance had to be placed upon the old methods. This is well illustrated in the field of economic research which is already utilizing all developed mechanical means of classification and correlation of raw data. The very mass of analyzable data necessary in business and industrial research has made the use of statistical tabulating machines inevitable. Such machines have also served greatly to expedite the work of the United States Bureau of the Census where they have been in use since 1890.

That mechanical system of classifying, correlating, and tabulating of particular interest here was invented by Herman Hollerith, an engineer employed by the United States Census of 1880. He realized that the mass of census data for that year could not be completely analyzed before the

beginning of preparations for the 1890 census. He developed a system of recording the descriptive data for each individual by punching holes on strips of paper. In addition he had developed a scheme for the automatic counting and sorting of the punched cards.

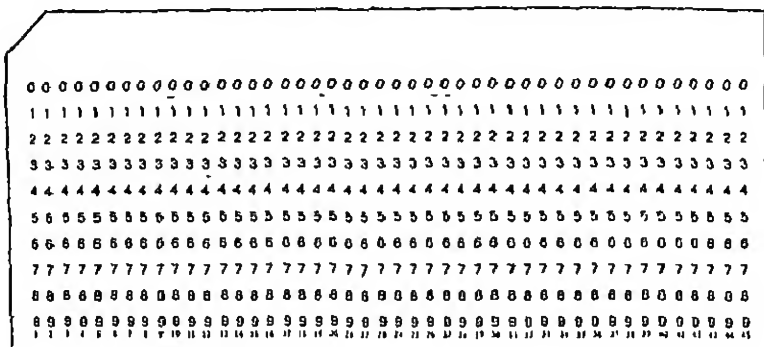


FIGURE I

The present Hollerith system depends upon the use of thin flexible cards $3\frac{1}{4} \times 7\frac{1}{8}$ inches in size.¹ Upon these cards in vertical columns are printed figures 0 to 9, from top to bottom. These cards are printed to contain as many vertical columns as is required up to 90. Each card is divided into "fields," or units of vertical columns, and each field is used for recording one item of information. The cards are perforated by a machine known as the "keyboard punch" which operates electrically somewhat like a typewriter. The card is inserted on the keyboard machine. The operator touches one of the keys. The result is a perforation upon the card in the first vertical column corresponding in position on the card to the number on the keyboard. The card then automatically shifts itself to the next column and the operation is repeated until a punch has been recorded somewhere in each vertical column of the card. Thus, the statistical data are recorded on the card in terms of perforations—the distance of a perfora-

¹See Figure I, above

tion from the zero place on the card determining its corresponding numerical value in a code. Each card, representing an individual case, is then identified by a given index number corresponding to the index number of the same case in the files of original data.

All of the perforated cards are then gathered together for the next operation—classification. They are placed upon an electrically operated machine which has been previously wired to sort out all the cards with a given combination of perforations. The almost magical feat of classification is accomplished by the work of a row of small wire brushes and a row of fixed metallic contacts corresponding in position to the columns of the cards, so that when the holes on the cards pass between the brushes and the metal contacts, electrical connections are made, thus causing the dispersion of the original group of cards into units of classification desired. While the process of classification goes on, a tabulating machine, also operated by electricity, automatically counts the cards in each category of the classification and prints the results on a form sheet.

The Hollerith statistical and tabulating machines are used extensively wherever large quantities of records are to be handled. They have been employed chiefly by insurance companies, public utilities, departments of vital statistics, and large financial organizations. Their use in social research is only now being developed.

The first task and probably the one of prime importance is that of reducing all original raw material into numerical terms² on large data sheets.³ In the Boys' Club Study this was accomplished by establishing a code for each item to be analyzed. For instance, the nationalities of the parents of some 12,000 boys were reduced to a code form in which:⁴

0 equals information not given
1 equals Italian

²Not necessarily numerical in its literal sense except as a number represents a classification.

³See Figure II, p. 46.

⁴This particular classification is based on preliminary studies where the important nationality groupings in the area of study were revealed.

FIGURE II

- 2 equals American (United States)
3 equals Jewish or Hebrew
4 equals Porto Rican
5 equals Colored or Negro
6 equals Irish
7 equals Russian
8 equals Spanish
9 equals all other nationalities

A numerical code, similar to the above, save that some of the codes make use of two or three digits (and, hence, two or three columns on the card), was established for each item to be included on the card. In each case the codes were set up only after sizable samples of the actual data had been studied in a preliminary way in order to arrive at suitable and "mutually exclusive" categories.

The next step was the translation of the raw data from all sources in the files into the numerical code symbols on the data or work sheets. Preliminary to this operation all records were completely alphabetized, given index numbers for identification (each case being referred to by number rather than name on the Hollerith card), and finally arranged in suitable numerical order. The information now coded on the data sheets was then verified and checked.

In order of procedure, the next process was that of "punching," or placing upon the Hollerith card the information originally contained in the raw records and later translated into code on the data sheets. This operation was then thoroughly checked for errors.

The work of sorting or classifying was next undertaken. A schedule of these operations on the Hollerith machine, considering the factors of time and money, was next planned. Each item had first to be classified for a simple frequency distribution. Each frequency distribution was then redistributed in terms of the various control groups of data. Correlations wanted between one item of information and any or many others were then planned. After the completion of this planning process all of the data were placed upon the Hollerith sorting and tabulating machines, and run off for those frequency distributions and correlations desired.

The final step, like that in all statistical research, is interpretation of tabulated results. This is a problem of logical synthesis and analysis and unfortunately no machine has yet been invented to supplant the human brain in the performance of this function.

In establishing relationships on the Hollerith machine, an economy in sorting processes may be effected by a judicial transposal of residuals from one tabular result to another. Thus, one of the problems of the Hollerith project of the Boys' Club Study was that of relating the factors of four years of membership with truancy and delinquency during a similar four-year period. A sample study of membership for one year having been completed, a numerical code for the membership factors was established as follows.

Code for Membership Status for a Given Year (A)

0 equals no members

1 equals junior member also school member

2 equals junior member only

- 3 equals intermediate member also school member
- 4 equals intermediate member only
- 5 equals senior member only
- 6 equals junior member also intermediate member
- 7 equals junior member also intermediate member also school member
- 8 equals intermediate member also senior member
- 9 equals intermediate member also senior member also school member

Each of these items in it is "mutually exclusive"; that is, there is no possibility of more than one punch on that column of the Hollerith card devoted to the recording of membership for year A. For discussion purposes, it may be assumed that vertical column number 10 on the Hollerith card is given over to this item. Similar codes are established for each of the remaining three years, B, C, and D, and are located in columns 11, 12, and 13.

The description of delinquency-truancy status is accomplished by a code, for each year of study, such as the one given below.

Code for Delinquency-Truancy Status for a given year (A₁)

- 0 equals clear record
- 1 equals delinquent boy
- 2 equals truant boy
- 3 equals delinquent boy also truant boy
- 4 equals delinquent boy also one or more delinquents in family
- 5 equals delinquent boy also one or more truants in family
- 6 equals truant boy also one or more delinquents in family
- 7 equals truant boy also one or more truants in family
- 8 equals delinquent in family (but not boy)
- 9 equals truant in family (but not boy)

This code which definitely places each case to be studied in *only one* category is also, therefore, "mutually exclusive." Similar delinquency-truancy codes are developed for each of the remaining three years of the study (B₁, C₁, and D₁) and are located in columns 20, 21, 22, and 23.

The problem then involved is the sorting out of all

members according to all possible combinations of yearly membership, which results as follows:

TABLE 1

Possible Combinations of Yearly Memberships⁶

1. A	9 B+D
2. B	10. C+D
3. C	11. A+B+C
4. D	12 A+B+D
5. A+B	13. B+C+D
6 A+C	14 A+C+D
7.. . . . A+D	15 A+B+C+D
8. B+C	

Each of these 15 membership combinations may then be studied for the factors of delinquency-truancy. Since these records too are for a four-year period, they may be combined into 15 combinations by years, indicated in Table 2.

TABLE 2

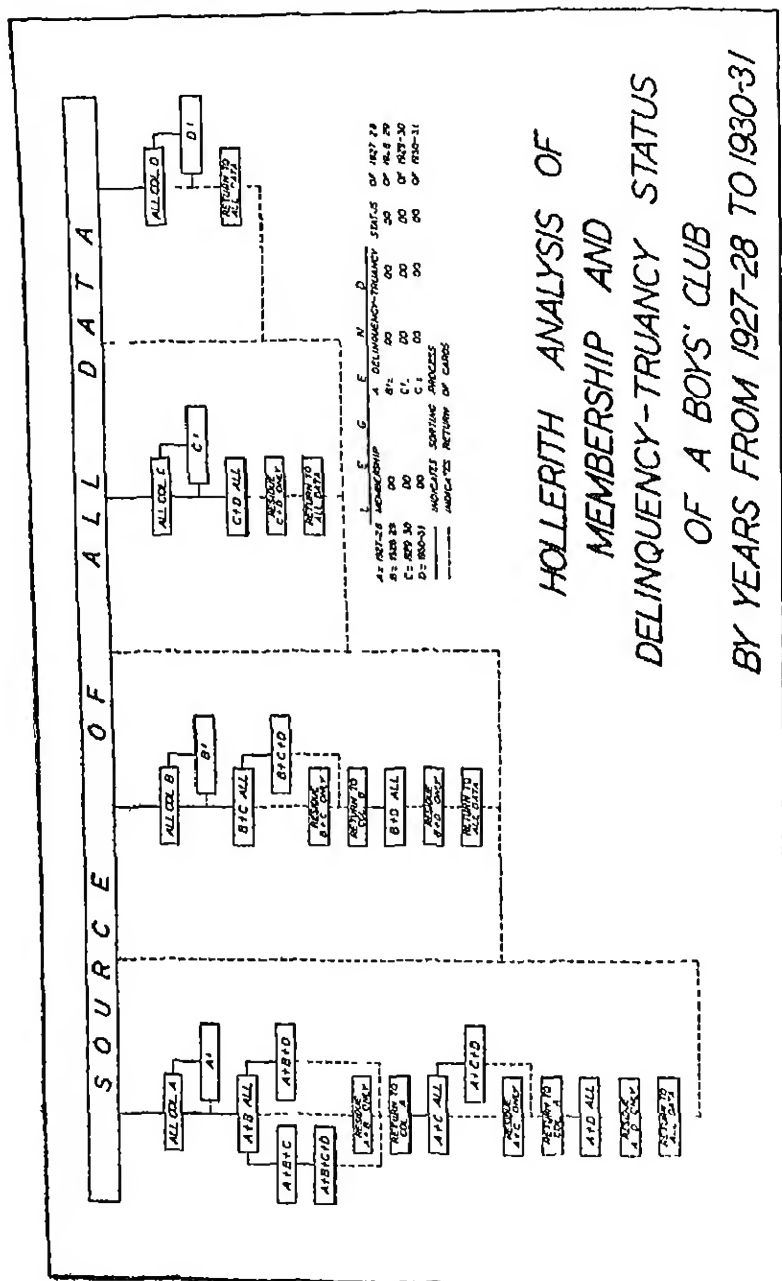
Possible Combinations of Delinquency-Truancy by Years

1. A ₁	9 B ₁ +D ₁
2. B ₁	10 C ₁ +D ₁
3. C ₁	11. A ₁ +B ₁ +C ₁
4 D ₁	12. A ₁ +B ₁ +D ₁
5. A ₁ +B ₁	13. B ₁ +C ₁ +D ₁
6. A ₁ +C ₁	14 A ₁ +C ₁ +D ₁
7 A ₁ +D ₁	15 A ₁ +B ₁ +C ₁ +D ₁
8 B ₁ +C ₁	

Since a correlation of each of the fifteen factors of membership with each of the fifteen factors of delinquency-truancy status would result in at least 225 tables, and although easily possible on the Hollerith machine, it was found practicable by this study to limit the number of correlations to those of primary interest. A workable scheme evolved was that of relating delinquency-truancy status for year A₁ with membership status for the corresponding year A; and so on for each of the three remaining years.⁷ This practical compromise became the more feasible since intensity of delinquency over the complete four-year study was provided for in another column. The procedure

⁶A is membership in 1927-1928, B, 1928-1929, C, 1929-1930, D, 1930-1931, A₁ is delinquency-truancy status in 1927-1928, etc.

⁷See Figure III, p. 50.



adopted is accomplished by the Hollerith system with utmost facility, although a prohibitive amount of labor would be required for the same task by manual tabulations.

The Hollerith system has proved itself of great value for correlation purposes. The Mendenhall-Warren-Hollerith Correlation Method⁷ is an indication of a growing interest among workers in social research in the possibilities of the Hollerith system. This method is a notable discovery making possible "as many as twelve correlations at a single run of the cards."⁸

The value of the Hollerith system to projects in social research may be stated in general terms.

1. Projects requiring the tabulation of large quantities of data will find the Hollerith system a time-saving device reducing the cost of clerical work and the monotony and fatigue of hand tabulations.

2. Hollerith cards easily lend themselves to use as *permanent records*, which may be stored away and classified or sorted whenever desirable.

3. The Hollerith system reduces to a negligible minimum the possibility of errors in classifying or tabulating by removing the "human element" from basic statistical operations.

4. The Hollerith system introduces the possibility of intricate correlations which would be impossible through manual manipulations of the data.

5. For social research particularly the Hollerith system makes practicable large-scale projects which otherwise would be deemed impossible and, in addition, makes results much more quickly available than is possible by use of the more laborious methods.

The limitations of the Hollerith method in social research are determined by the nature of the project itself. Obviously a project utilizing a small quantity of data or one in which there are no extensive data reducible to statistical terms cannot well make use of Hollerith technique

⁷R. Warren and R. M. Mendenhall, *The Mendenhall-Warren-Hollerith Correlation Method*, p. 1

ECOLOGICAL ASPECTS OF THE BOYS' CLUB STUDY

FREDERIC M. THRASHER

A method used to advantage in the Boys' Club Study is that which has been designated by sociologists as "ecological"—a study of society in its distributive aspects. This method has found one of its most interesting expressions in Chicago in the work of Clifford R. Shaw and his colleagues,¹ who have studied the distribution of truants, delinquents, adult offenders, etc., in relation to other social factors. The results of these studies have shown that delinquency areas in American urban communities are clearly defined as interstitial and adjacent to major commercial and industrial centers and that they have typical characteristics such as physical deterioration, declining population, low economic status, high percentages of foreign born and Negroes in the local population, relative disorganization of wholesome groups and institutions except as superimposed from without, and lack of community morale with a resultant breakdown of social control. These studies suggest also that the continuity of high delinquency rates in these areas is due to the persistence of traditions of delinquency and a high degree of social contagion through informal contacts rather than to any fundamental biological or psychological traits of the populations moving in and out of these areas.

An important technique of the ecological method is the development of maps which can be used for showing the geographic distribution of various types of social facts in relation to their backgrounds and to each other. By spot-

¹See Clifford R. Shaw, et al., *Delinquency Areas, A Study of the Geographic Distribution of School Truants, Juvenile Delinquents, and Adult Offenders in Chicago* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1929). See also Clifford R. Shaw and Henry D. McKay, *Social Factors in Juvenile Delinquency*, Volume II, *Report on the Causes of Crime* (Washington, D. C.: National Commission on Law Observance and Enforcement, 1932). These two volumes include the results of studies of Chicago, Philadelphia, Richmond, Birmingham, Cleveland, Denver, and Seattle. Publication of data on a number of other cities has been projected.

ting various types of data upon base maps² it is possible to discover graphic correlations between social facts which may suggest or test significant hypotheses with regard to causal relationships.

In the Boys' Club Study these methods have proved invaluable both in delimiting and describing the areas served by a given boys' club unit and in suggesting explanations for important problems arising in the course of the investigation. Why do boys' club members come from certain blocks or sections of the area rather than others? A glance at a carefully prepared map showing all possible social facts and facilities usually suggests the answer immediately or gives important clues for further investigation. The whole question of membership distribution and its changes from year to year can best be studied by the use of such maps. Likewise, the comparison of different groups or types of members is greatly facilitated. Marked solidarity is immediately suggested if the members of an intermediate club (a small group club within the larger unit) are drawn from a single social block (opposite sides of the street within the same block). The comparison of the distribution of boys' club members with that of truants, delinquents, adult offenders, etc., is revealing and suggests hypotheses or problems that may be followed up by means of further case, statistical, or ecological studies.

An elaborate social base map was prepared for a district served by one of the boys' club units under investigation. The boundaries of this area were determined by a preliminary survey showing the neighborhoods from which the club drew the bulk of its membership. The territory to be included on the map in this particular case comprised approximately 170 city blocks. The base map was first constructed by outlining the blocks, with the boundaries of

²A base map is one which shows fundamental factors such as topographic outlines of land and water, street pattern, parks, railroads and landmarks, business and industrial properties, etc. The amount of detail it is shown upon such a map will depend entirely upon the uses to which it is to be put. Base maps should be distinguished from display and research maps. Display maps are designed to show up vividly graphic distributions or correlations superimposed upon the base map as a background, while research maps are constructed without reference to visualization and may include such a variety of data as to destroy their usefulness for display purposes.

the map following the United States census population tracts, in order that statistical comparisons would be possible on the basis of census data.

The outline map completed, the next problem was to secure for this large urban area essential data which would serve as a significant background upon which other social facts pertinent to the Boys' Club Study could be superimposed. It was decided that the most useful base map for this particular boys' club area was one which should include as much significant social data as possible.

The first data to be placed upon the map after the block outlines had been completed were factors affecting mobility and isolation, such as transportation facilities and natural and artificial barriers. One of the next essentials was house numbering at the corners of each block in order to make possible the accurate spotting of cases. The corner house numbers were obtained by observation and checked by means of real-estate maps and the street (not alphabetical) telephone directories.

It was decided that 83 kinds of institutions and uses of land and buildings would be significant as a background for other data and they were placed upon the map by means of the graphic symbols developed by the Department of Surveys and Exhibits of the Russell Sage Foundation.⁸ They may be classified as follows:

I. <i>Government and public services</i>	Library Museum, art gallery, etc.
Governmental office	
Court	
Police station	
Fire station	
Post office	
Employment office	
Public	
Comfort station	
II. <i>Educational institutions</i>	III. <i>Religious institutions</i> Roman Catholic church Greek Catholic church Protestant church Other Christian church Synagogue Meeting place (other religions) Convent or monastery Mission
School	
Civic or scientific society	

⁸These pictorial symbols make it possible to read the map easily without memorizing an elaborate code.

- | | |
|--|--|
| IV <i>Welfare and custodial institutions</i> | Playground |
| Social-work organization | Tennis court |
| Settlement house | Hall (may be rented) |
| Church or parish house | Social focus |
| Day nursery | VIII. <i>Business establishments</i> |
| Home for children | Bank |
| Home for aged or infirm | Store |
| V. <i>Health agencies</i> | Drug store |
| Hospital | Market |
| Dispensary or clinic | Pawnshop |
| Health or nursing center | Hotel |
| VI. <i>Clubs and societies</i> | Restaurant |
| Private social club | Lunch counter |
| Secret society or lodge | Soda fountain |
| Trade union | Saloon |
| Y. M. C. A. | Factory |
| Y. W. C. A. | Garage |
| Y. M. H. A. | Stable |
| Knights of Columbus | Barber shop |
| Boys' Club | Candy store |
| Girls' Club | Cigar store |
| Political Club | Real estate |
| VII. <i>Recreation facilities</i> | Shoe shine |
| Community or social center | Undertaker |
| Assembly hall | Warehouse |
| Theater | Second-hand store |
| Motion picture theater | Junkshop |
| Burlesque or vaudeville | Junkyard |
| Cabaret | Coalyard |
| Dance hall | Woodyard |
| Pool or billiard room | IX <i>Transportation and miscellaneous</i> |
| Shooting gallery | Railroad station |
| Athletic field | Gas tank |
| | Gasoline stand |

In cases where no pictorial symbols were available, circled initials of the institutions were used.¹ Vacant buildings and yards were indicated by letter symbols. Properties used entirely for business purposes were indicated by hatching; for industrial purposes, by cross-hatching,

¹Sample blocks with explanations are shown in Figure IV, p. 57. Copies of this complete map (21 by 31 inches), which is well adapted for teaching purposes, may be obtained by writing to the director of the Boys' Club Study.

while symbols for the specific types of business or industry were superimposed upon the hatching, bringing into relief the business and industrial sections of the area. Vacant ground and parks were shown by means of stippling, which made them stand out against the background of other data.

Wherever practicable the specific names of institutions with the dates of their founding were placed in close proximity to them on the map. In this way it became possible at a glance to determine when, for example, a Jewish synagogue or a Greek Orthodox church entered a certain part of the area. It became possible, also, to identify specific institutions upon which documents had been collected in the files of the study.⁶

All data on the base map were recorded as nearly as possible as of 1931. For comparative purposes the study has access to comparable data on institutions for the same area for 1928. Social changes will be shown eventually by special maps.

The data on institutions were obtained for the map by personal door-to-door observation and in this way every address in the total area was visited. These materials were checked for inaccuracies by revisits; and additional data and checking were made possible by reference to aerial maps, real-estate maps (Land Atlas), street telephone directories, tax-assessment lists, etc.

Three other types of background data were considered important for the construction of the base map; viz, housing, population by block, and race and nationality by social block. Data on housing was obtained through the cooperation of the State Housing Department, so that it was possible to indicate for each quarter block the number of old law tenements, converted dwellings, new law tenements, private dwellings, and rooming houses. The approximate population by block was obtained from the 1930 United States Census records. Approximate racial

⁶On the methods of community study, see article on "Related and Subsidiary Studies of the Boys' Club Study," to appear in the November issue of *THE JOURNAL*.

The reproduction of the base map upon a sufficiently

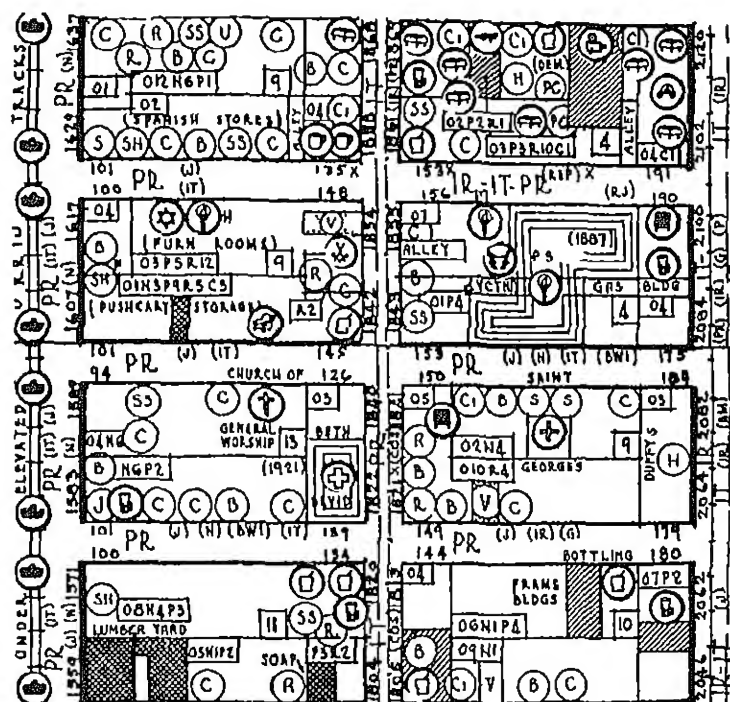


FIGURE IV

Section of social base map for Boys' Club Study (actual size) is shown above. Copies of the map (21 by 34 inches in size), which includes approximately 200 city blocks, are available for teaching purposes through the office of the Boys' Club Study.

(Continued on page 58)

After all these data had been carefully drawn in India ink by an expert draftsman upon a master map of white paper mounted on linen, the map was reproduced by the photolithographic process, copyrighted, and published.

Housing is indicated for each of four parts of square block by letters and figures, e g, O1N3P9R5C3 means 1 "old law" tenement, 3 "new law" houses, 9 private dwellings, 5 rooming houses, and 3 converted dwellings.

Population density is indicated for each square block in small square at center right end of each block, e g, 4 in a small square means between 400 and 500 residents, 13 means between 1,300 and 1,400 residents; etc.

Nationalities both dominant and minor are indicated for each social block by letters in the street; e g, IR-IT-PR-(RJ) means dominant nationalities in block are Irish, Italian, and Porto Rican, while Russian Jews are present, but not in large numbers.

Nongraphic Symbols are represented by letters, e g, C—Candystore, R—real estate, B—barber shop, SS—shoe-shine shop, U—undertaker, Ci—cigar store, SH—second-hand store, H—hall for rent, etc

A complete explanation of the map and its uses as well as a complete code of all symbols is printed on the face of each map.

large scale and its availability in quantities made possible the construction of hundreds of experimental spot maps upon which the superimposed data were shown in colors. Such problems were explored as the distributive relationship between boys' club members and the following factors: types of housing; racial and nationality groupings; congestion of population; presence or absence of certain types of social institutions such as poolrooms, social clubs, saloons, and other social foci; etc. Distributions of truants, juvenile delinquents, older offenders, cases of dependency, etc., were compared with each other and with the distributions of boys' club members and various types of boys' club members in order to secure more revealing pictures of the area and the relation of the boys' club to it.

In order to make a more detailed investigation of certain aspects of Boys' Club Study problems, an area of intensive study of thirty city blocks including three census tracts immediately surrounding the boys' club unit was established. For experimental and research purposes even larger scale maps were constructed for each of these three census tracts and for each social block within the area of intensive study.⁷

⁷Intensive experimental studies of two social blocks were prepared—one by Harry E Hoag and one by R L Whitley

BOYS' CLUB MEMBERSHIP MORTALITY AND TURNOVER

ZOLA BRAUNSTEIN

Why do boys join a boys' club? Why and how long do they remain members? Why do they leave the club and rejoin? Why do they sever their memberships never to rejoin? Such questions as these are so crucial to the whole problem of evaluating the influence of the boys' club and, furthermore, the factors and forces which determine the answers to them are so complex and varied that it became essential to establish a special phase of the Boys' Club Study to be devoted solely to these problems and their ramifications.

The purpose of this particular phase of the Study (commonly called a study of the "outs") was to determine and analyze the forces outside and inside the program of the club which are factors in determining the membership status of the boys as suggested by the above questions. More specifically, it was an attempt to establish the relationship of these forces to the membership mortality of the intermediate clubs, of the other groups in the unit, and of the unit as a whole. What part does the program of activities play in this turnover and mortality of membership? What is the relation of membership turnover and mortality to the expenditure of leisure time, both as to mode and place, outside of the boys' club?

In order to obtain an inclusive and thorough account of the reasons club members leave a particular group club or sever their connection with the club unit itself, it was necessary to follow up and interview a group of about 1,000 boys. To accomplish this satisfactorily under the prevailing conditions a special procedure of interviewing was necessary.

Due to the general social backgrounds of these boys, it was found that only a specially trained (and adapted) male

boys' worker of not too mature appearance was able to obtain the best results with intermediate and senior members. Only in exceptional cases were the boys interviewed asked direct and pointed questions. The interviewer, supplied with information concerning a boy who had dropped out of the club, including his membership history and other data, approached the boy usually at the latter's home. The boy would be engaged in casual conversation concerning matters to which his past boys' club membership could be related in an effort to develop rapport. He would be stimulated to discuss pertinent facts concerning the boys' club, such as his immediate reasons for leaving, his reactions to the program, etc. In this way a picture of the character and activities of the subordinate group of which he was a member was obtained. If possible, usually only in the case of superior boys or where more favorable rapport could be established, an attempt was made to obtain a detailed history of the intermediate club as a group or as an independent club prior to its incorporation into the boys' club. Information was sought regarding major events and outstanding characteristics of the group's behavior during the boys' membership in the club or during the group's connection with the boys' club. If the particular group to which the boy had belonged was no longer affiliated with the boys' club, the immediate causes leading to the severing of its connection and a description of the activities of its members since that time were sought.

The interviewer, after obtaining as much information as possible in this way, would make brief outline notes at a place in the immediate neighborhood where he could write unobserved. After talking with several boys, the investigator would return as soon as possible to the office and dictate a verbatim report of the interviews made. Since much of the information obtained was of a personal nature, all data were considered confidential.

The boys chosen for follow-up and interview were selected on a basis of intermediate club affiliation or other

group membership; that is, each boy interviewed was a member of a typical group which, although unique in certain respects, represented problems common to other groups of the same type. A majority of the intermediate boys interviewed were members of clubs that were classified in two groups, one representing the outstanding clubs and one including clubs ranked as least successful.

The following brief descriptive statements with regard to the reputations or histories of different intermediate clubs indicate that a great variety of social situations may exist within the same boys' club unit: A continuous history for a period of several club years terminating abruptly with the disbanding of the club or group; an organization of a group of boys with rather similar characteristics for almost all members of this particular group, including similarity in age, nationality, school status, and residence, followed after a certain period by the admission into the same group club of another set of boys with similar characteristics but different in degree from that of the first group resulting in a very definite type of membership behavior by one of the two groups after a very short interval; the establishment by one club or another of a definite reputation for excelling in athletics, dramatics, or social events or for being composed of groups of superior boys or delinquent and other social types; etc.

Among the boys interviewed concerning each club studied were included a number who had not severed their connections with the boys' club. These boys were used as a check group and were interviewed for the purpose of determining why they had continued to maintain their membership in such groups whereas others had dropped out.

The senior group is one into which the older intermediate boys are graduated and in this particular boys' club unit it constitutes a rather small number of boys with a relatively short history. It has been studied, however, in order to determine its relation to the intermediate groups, the club as a whole, and its effectiveness as an individual group.

A similar follow-up and interview method was employed for the junior group. The intermediate division of this boys' club unit, which includes an average annual group of 1,500 boys ranging from 13 to 17 years of age separated into about 65 clubs, has been investigated more thoroughly as to boys who drop out than either the junior or senior divisions.

The ecological method, as employed in the study of the "outs," was an investigation of the relationship of the boy's place of residence to the apparent geographic center of distribution for the majority of the members of his intermediate club during a particular club year.

The statistical study of the "outs" involved the study of membership mortality for individual clubs and for the intermediate group as a whole based almost exclusively on a monthly attendance record. This study attempted to determine whether there were any relationships between membership admissions during the first period of the year, as well as other periods, and membership duration; between the maintenance of membership by old members and the admission of new members; between minimum membership duration and continued membership, between such factors as athletic participation and membership duration.

Another approach to the problems of membership mortality and turnover involved the use of more than 1,000 schedules filled in under supervision by members of the intermediate and junior groups. A large number of the boys on whom schedules were available were interviewed by trained workers to obtain additional information.

Dictation by a number of superior boys concerning themselves, other boys and their activities, and certain groups or clubs both inside and outside of the unit were very often invaluable guides in selecting clubs to be studied or in aiding to evaluate information obtained from various boys by interview.

In order to envisage all possible factors that played a part in membership mortality and turnover, the reactions

of adult leaders were obtained by an experienced field worker in interviews with leaders of the clubs which received most intensive study and follow-up. The mortality and turnover among volunteer and unpaid adult leaders was found to be almost as high as the membership mortality.

Interviews with the adult leaders were carried on by one person and by means of casual conversations with attempts to stimulate statements in connection with certain points of interest in the research project. Information was sought as to the adult leader's characterization of the make-up and general organization of his club group, a history of the club during his connection with it, his opinion of the most important factors that affected the particular club's history, and the rôles played by the different individuals who were members of the club.

In an effort to make this study of direct use to directors of boys' clubs, an attempt to formulate a system for the prediction of probable membership mortality and turnover of individuals is needed. By using methods similar to those worked out by Burgess, Tibbetts, and others in determining violation of parole,² it is within the realm of probability to indicate to the group director what are the most important characteristics generally associated with a type of boy or group which sooner or later presents membership problems. Thus, the worker will be able to single out the boys or groups who need more special attention and assistance in order to carry them along until they become adjusted to the club environment and the disturbing causes are mitigated or eliminated with the result that the very probable "out" may become a permanent and effective member. The bringing of this phase of the study to completion is dependent on the obtaining (within the limitations of time and necessary assistance) of further refined data which are basically comparable.

²See E. W. Burgess, "Is Prediction Feasible in Social Work?" *Social Forces*, June 1929, pp. 533-545, Clark Tibbetts, "Success or Failure on Parole Can be Predicted," *Journal of Criminal Law and Criminology*, January 1930, and Clark Tibbetts, "Reliability of Factors Used in Predicting Success or Failure on Parole," *Journal of Criminal Law and Criminology*, March 1932, p. 853 ff.

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EDITORIAL

In a nation which has developed a large system of State universities it would seem anomalous should there be a State which desired a real State university but could not create one. Yet it seems that the State of New Jersey finds itself almost in such a predicament. The Third Annual Report of the New Jersey State Board of Regents to the Legislature of the State of New Jersey recently published recommends a comprehensive plan for the unification of all public higher education. The proposal for a State university system attempts, so far as is humanly possible, to reconcile the various factions and institutions concerned in the reorganization without losing sight of the main quest—securing an integrated system with an authoritative board of control for a real State institution. The Report is, no doubt, largely the work of Dr. A. B. Meredith whom the State Board of Regents secured some time ago as its educational adviser.

The chief points of the proposed program of reorganization involve: (1) The creation, by the Legislature, of the "University of New Jersey" with a Board of Trustees, from nine to twelve members appointed for overlapping terms; (2) such university to be designated as the Land Grant College of New Jersey; (3) the trustees of the uni-

versity to have power to make provision for the purchase, by contract with the trustees of any institution of higher education within the State for the University of New Jersey of such services of public higher education as may be mutually agreed; (4) trustees also to have the power to prevent unnecessary duplication in courses of instruction in the various divisions of the university; (5) provision for the establishment of various professional units or schools needed in any well-conceived scheme for a State university, (6) a unification policy for the internal administration of the university through a university senate and State college council.

The Report also comprises sections devoted to certain related problems of higher education in New Jersey, especially that of the advantages to the State of a system of junior colleges. What the legislature of New Jersey will do with this able document in educational statesmanship remains to be seen.

J. O. C.

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THE PREPARATION OF THE COLLEGE TEACHER

J. O. CREAGER

Our American system for the preparation of teachers for elementary schools is now about a century old, while that for secondary teachers is much less venerable, but quite well established. Both have grown to huge proportions and proposals for the preparation for college teachers are becoming more and more insistent. The higher educational institutions, which have long fostered the training of teachers for the schools below them, have at last sensed the incongruity of refusing as patients to take the medicine which they prescribe as physicians—a case where what is sauce for the goose apparently is regarded as applesauce for the gander. To maintain that the need of professional preparation diminishes as we go upward in the educational scale is equivalent to saying either that there are no teaching problems at the top, or that if such problems exist, the study of education has nothing to contribute to their solution. Either horn of this dilemma can be shown to be an uncomfortable place upon which to ride.

We are living in a period when our institutions of higher learning are under fire as never before. Much of the current criticism centers about the college professor and his competency as a leader and teacher of youth. The public that supports these institutions has little to say about research, which is, without question, a legitimate function of higher education; but this same public *has* evinced considerable interest lately in the quality of instruction and guidance given its sons and daughters. For the alumnus of today is the parent of tomorrow, with an atrociously good memory and some opinions on other subjects than athletics.

Our American Ph.D. degree, fashioned largely from German borrowings, was not, in its origin, designed to be

a professional degree for teachers, but one leading largely to research. It has come to pass, however, that this degree is now practically a *sine qua non* for college and university professors and the figures show that most holders of the degree go into teaching. Thus, what was originally not intended to be a teaching degree has become one with no corresponding changes in the requirements to meet this new demand.

In the meantime, education as a subject of study has largely discarded the old method of theory and doctrine and is rapidly developing a large body of scientific knowledge bearing upon problems of instruction, guidance, and administration. No well-informed person can any longer maintain that this body of knowledge is useless or that it has no bearing upon the solution of urgent problems affecting higher education.

A study of the actual job of being a college teacher reveals the fact that there is a lack of adjustment between the everyday demands of this position and the requirements made upon the candidate for the doctor's degree. This lack of adjustment pertains both to the degree and kind of specialization required in the candidate's chosen field and to the lack of professional study. The specialization is often too narrow in scope and too intensive in method to meet the demands not only of teachers of freshmen and sophomores but of upperclassmen as well. The topic chosen for the thesis investigation is usually of little significance from the teaching viewpoint, and often of doubtful value from the point of view of training in research technique. The following poetical effusion of Charles George Putney quoted from the *Harvard Lampoon* is almost too true to be funny:

Fresh from Wisconsin, with an M A.,
Eager to learn life's noblest profession—
That of molding young minds,
I came to Cambridge

And studied for the hallowed Ph.D.
English Literature, I had thought,
Was a chief glory of the race
And a handmaid of the humanities,
But early and late I crammed Middle English,
Old Frisian and Early Keltic dialects,
Grubbed and delved in dusty research
Among minor and minor scribblers
And literary nonentities,
And in three years I was properly rewarded
I received my degree
And lost all joy and desire of teaching.

Not less scholarship, but a different kind is needed. In any scheme for the preparation of college teachers, it is suggested that provision should be made for the following: (1) an adequate undergraduate basis in liberal education; (2) scholarship, both intensive and comprehensive, in the candidate's chosen field; (3) a comprehensive study of the problems of higher education with some apprenticeship training in teaching under expert direction; (4) some training in research in the candidate's chosen field.

WHERE SHALL ADMINISTRATION OF COLLEGE TEACHER
PREPARATION BE VESTED?

A recent symposium¹ in which the leading graduate schools of the country are represented reveals a strange *impasse*. There seems to be a fair consensus of opinion to the effect that something must be done regarding the training of college teachers. But when the delicate question of offering courses in education arises, a pall of respectable silence covers the assembly. With the exception of the vitriolic scorn of the dean of one prominent graduate school directed upon those prejudiced against education courses the issue is tactfully avoided. It is apparent that the play is expected to go on without Hamlet. We are to professionalize teacher preparation at the college level with courses in education omitted. With many of our largest

¹William Stock Gray, et al., *The Training of College Teachers* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1930), viii+242 pages

universities making extensive use of scientific procedures in education in the study of instructional and curricular problems, the incongruity of this situation is obvious enough.

The question then arises: Are we to have a dual system in the administration of graduate study for the preparation of college teachers, just as we have in the instance of secondary-teacher training? In the latter case, liberal-arts colleges and colleges of arts and science within universities are administering one program and schools of education another. Few universities have had the courage to deal with the problem without equivocation. In few is there a respectable degree of coöperation in the matter. Professional schools of law, medicine, engineering, agriculture, etc., are given undivided control of their program of studies, but not so with schools of education. Is the same thing to happen between graduate schools of education and graduate schools of arts and science with reference to the training of university teachers?

Certain university presidents see that here is an administrative problem of some proportions. President Hutchins of Chicago and President Sproul of California have both referred to it in recent inaugural addresses. These men have thought of the graduate school as largely a professional school for the training of college teachers and of the under-graduate school as serving in part as a laboratory or training school for apprentice teaching. This is hopeful and will undoubtedly stimulate the movement towards professionalizing the university teacher. The divergence of point of view between faculty folk in schools of education and those in arts colleges, though still quite great, has reached the point where it is destined to break down and, we hope, in due time disappear. A number of our universities have so organized cooperative research upon teaching and curricular problems as to put their faculties into teamwork in this field. A policy of this sort not only produces more effective research but deletes departmental boundary

lines in the interests of better instruction and student guidance. Some of the most exacting pieces of educational research recently appearing from the University of Minnesota have been done by members of the arts-college faculty in cooperation with the school of education.² A man who thus schools himself in the procedures of educational research and participates in a cooperative project of this sort will undoubtedly go farther to inform himself on the total enterprise of higher education in this country. The extension of this type of work will also go far towards the removal of petty differences of opinion among faculties.

Reverting to the question of administrative control of graduate programs for the preparation of the college teacher, it would seem that logically there are three possible plans: (1) we may place the function of control in charge of the arts and science graduate school with the hope that it will eventually come to take a professional point of view and address itself definitely to the job of preparing college teachers; (2) we may reside this function with graduate schools of education trusting that they will not overemphasize education courses to the extent of neglecting scholarship in subject matter; (3) we may establish some sort of administrative "merger" by which all divisions offering graduate degrees within a given university may agree to administer cooperatively the entire scheme of graduate study through a common administrative council.

A recent study³ shows that we have at least seven institutions which accept as part credit towards the doctor's degree in education courses in academic subject matter. There are also certain arts and science graduate schools which permit a limited number of courses in education to be reckoned towards the doctor's degree in academic fields. Since 1925 the School of Education in New York University has had in progress a systematic plan for the prepara-

²See Palmer O. Johnson, *Curricular Problems in Science on the College Level* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1930), xvi+188 pages.

³Nineteenth Yearbook of National Society of College Teachers of Education (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1931), vi+187 pages.

tion of college teachers which permits candidates for the master's and doctor's degrees to divide their programs of study between education and academic courses on approximately a one-third, two-third basis. The plan is sufficiently flexible to meet the needs and purposes of the individual student. Care is exercised to see that those who are preparing for teaching positions in universities are adequately grounded in scholarship in their special fields. Candidates definitely preparing for personnel or administrative work may increase the proportion of work in education, provided it is clear that their specialization for a teaching position in college is adequate.

If we may reason from our experience in administering undergraduate preparation of teachers, it does not seem likely that either of the three plans outlined above will be adopted to the exclusion of others. As we administer undergraduate preparation through schools of education, teachers colleges, liberal-arts colleges, and schools of arts and science, so we are likely to witness competitive practices of a varied sort among graduate institutions. I am not too disconsolate about this prospect. It probably represents poor old democracy's way of arriving at pragmatic truth through trial and error. I would only like to live long enough to see who wins.

As an example of an organization where the administration of the program lies largely with the school of education, I am submitting an account of the New York University program.

THE NEW YORK UNIVERSITY PLAN FOR THE PREPARATION OF COLLEGE AND UNIVERSITY TEACHERS

Origin and Provisions

In 1924 New York University, under the leadership of Dean Withers and the faculty of the School of Education, drafted a plan for the preparation of subject-matter teachers and other types of service for colleges, teachers colleges, and universities. This plan required the coopera-

tion of the Graduate School of the University and the approval of the Council. This, I believe, was the first thoroughly conceived scheme, on the graduate level, for the professional preparation of all forms of service for the higher educational institutions. This organization has now been in operation seven years and it is the purpose here to give a brief account of the chief features of the plan and its administration.

The basic proposals and underlying philosophy of this plan are best stated in a letter from Dean Withers, addressed to presidents of teachers colleges in 1925. The letter was submitted to this group of executives as a basis for discussion and comment at a time when these institutions were confronted with the problem of securing teachers of academic subject matter who had been professionally prepared. The following provisions are quoted from Dean Withers's letter:

Proposals

1. Provision for three-year graduate curricula leading to the Ph.D degree.
2. The fundamental spirit and purpose of these curricula to be the preparation of men and women to become teachers in colleges, universities, and professional schools.
3. Careful selection on a basis of scholarship and personal fitness of the students who are to be admitted to these curricula
4. The thesis required for the doctor's degree to be in some field of college and university or professional education with the intention that the studies made shall contribute to the improvement of teaching and administration in higher education
5. The course requirements for the degree to include three types of work which are to proceed simultaneously throughout the three-year period as follows
 - a) Apprenticeship under guidance and supervision—this apprenticeship to include both teaching and personnel work. The amount of teaching required to be increased throughout the three-year period, being least in the first year and most in the third. Personnel work to include student advising and cooperation of students in such activities as athletics, dramatic, publicity work, etc
 - b) Courses in subject matter designed to give the student a comprehensive and thorough knowledge of the subject

or subjects which he intends to teach, culminating in an intensive study of some division or aspect of the subject. Scholarship to be emphasized as a basic need in college teaching with the understanding, however, that it must be a type of scholarship that is alive, growing, and contagious, that keeps the prospective teacher in intellectual sympathy with the undeveloped minds of his college students, conscious both of their past experiences and future needs, and finally comprehends the subject taught in its relation to life and its value as an instrument of preparation of the college student for the rôle which, as a graduate, he should play.

- c) Professional courses in educational theory and practice—these courses to include, in addition to such basic subjects as educational psychology, educational sociology, philosophy, or principles of education, etc., a study of the most effective methods of teaching the student's chosen subject and also a study of the organization and administration of higher education and its function in American life
- d) Approximately the course requirements for two of the three years of graduate work to be devoted to subject-matter courses and one year to the apprenticeship and professional courses.

Administration of these Provisions

It will be noted that the chief factors of this plan are: (1) that it is a joint enterprise between the faculty of the School of Education and the faculty of the Graduate School of arts and sciences; (2) that approximately two thirds of the course work of the future college teacher is to be devoted to the field of his subject-matter specialization and one third to the study of education; (3) that a new type of subject-matter scholarship is emphasized; (4) that the work in education comprises both basic subjects and courses in the field of higher education; (5) that provision is to be made for apprenticeship in both teaching and advisory work

In the actual administration of these provisions it has been found that most of our students come to us after having taken their bachelor's and master's degrees elsewhere. The majority of these students have majored in some academic subject as undergraduates and have devoted

all or most of their master's degree program to a continuation of this specialization. They are, in many cases, not greatly in need of more courses in their special field, but if, after consultation, it is found that such courses are desirable, they are required to take them. Many of these candidates come to us from prominent teaching positions on college or university staffs. Our uniform policy has been to emphasize adequate mastery of the field of specialization and to keep the number of education courses down to a reasonable minimum. If, however, a graduate student desires to change his objective from that of teaching to administrative or personnel work, he may map out his program accordingly, provided that he can satisfy the faculty that his previous preparation in academic subject-matter field has been adequate. This is done because it is realized that deans, college presidents, etc., are not ordinarily recruited in terms of registrars' records of the number of credit points they possess in higher education. We do have each year, however, a number of students who already hold important positions as administrative or advisory officers in some college or university and who desire to specialize in their respective fields in their work for the doctor's degree. For such candidates our regulations are flexible enough to provide a desirable program.

Relative to the character of the thesis topic referred to in number 4 of the above proposals it may be said that our provisions permit the candidate to write upon what is called a "content" topic. Our catalogue provision reads as follows. "Thesis on some appropriate problem relating to the content or teaching (on college level) of the candidate's major subject." Usually where such a thesis topic is chosen, it is not difficult to show that the investigation has at least "educational implications" of some significance to the profession of college teaching. If it did not, let the reader provide his own comment.

Provision 3 above relates to the problem of selection of

candidates. The School of Education last year provided a new form of preliminary examination which must be taken within the first six weeks after the candidate has matriculated for his doctor's degree. This examination is required of all candidates for the doctorate in the School of Education and it is a personal fitness or aptitude examination rather than a subject-matter scholarship test. The selective process goes on, to be sure, through the subsequent program for the degree by means of course work, term papers, examinations, and thesis. A comprehensive final written examination in the candidate's special field is required.

Type of Courses Being Offered

Three different departments offer general or institutional courses bearing upon problems in the field of higher education. These are the departments of college education, teachers college and normal-school education, and personnel administration. The special subject-matter departments are also developing courses which deal with methods of teaching at the college level. The 1932-1933 catalogue of the School of Education carries two courses in personnel administration which deal with college and university problems, and eight courses in the field of college and university education. The department of teachers college and normal-school education offers a still larger number of courses in that field. We have found that the courses receiving the largest enrollments in the department of college education are the course on the Improvement of College Teaching and another course entitled College and University Education, which is largely an historic and comparative study of higher education in this country and in Europe. A course on the junior college and a seminar in college and university administration are also offered.

Kinds of Students Who Come to Us

It has already been indicated that the type of graduate student we get is rather mature both scholastically and

professionally. To show that in a concrete way let us take the personnel of last year's class on the Improvement of College Teaching. In this class of 46 graduate students, three had had experience as college deans, ten held professorial rank in their respective colleges, five held the rank of assistant professor, and ten the rank of instructor. The remainder had not had experience as college teachers. As indicative of the representative groups we are getting in these classes it may be said that in this class the following institutions of higher learning were represented. St Christopher's College, Madras, India, University of Saskatchewan, State College, Pullman, Washington; University of Colorado; University of Wyoming; State College, Gunnison, Colorado; Westminster Junior College, Utah; University of Missouri; Arkansas College, Batesville, Arkansas, State Teachers College, Conway, Arkansas, University of Louisiana; Berea College, Kentucky; College of the City of New York; St John's College; Hunter College, Drexel Institute, New Jersey College for Women, School of Pharmacy, Columbia University; Rutgers College; Upsala College.

It is evident that mature students coming with their varied experiences from such a large range of institutions have much to contribute to the discussion of almost any topic arising in the field of college or university education and thus to a large extent set the pace for the quality of the work done.

EDUCATIONAL ECONOMICS—A NEW SYNTHESIS

WILLIAM WITHERS

For education, one of the most important results of the last two years of business depression has been the increased popular interest in economics. In the years following the World War this interest has grown steadily and it has had at least three important effects upon education. In the first place, schools of commerce in universities have grown more rapidly than any other type of professional school, with the possible exception of schools of education. In large cities they have attained the size of independent universities and thousands of students in them are taking courses in economics. According to H. G. Shields, their annual number reaches approximately 50,000 when it is added to that of students taking economics in arts colleges. In the second place, similar courses in economics have been introduced into the high schools to such an extent that, according to the statistics furnished by the United States Bureau of Education, 147,035 students were enrolled in these courses in 1927-1928. In New York City alone as many as two hundred teachers of economics are now employed. Finally, during these years economic matter has been introduced into the curriculum of the elementary school.

In spite of this new interest in an old subject students and teachers seem far from satisfied with the way it is being taught. Only recently the seniors of a large Eastern college voted economics the dullest of all their subjects. The conversations that I have had with students (some of whom at least were not my own) have revealed the same attitude. I have even listened to faculty discussions where the topic was how to make economics interesting. It should not be assumed, however, that neither college nor high-

school teachers have made efforts to solve this teaching problem. The members of the American Economic Association in 1925 and 1926 held round-table discussions on the teaching of economics in college and committees were appointed to help work out programs for the teaching of social studies in high schools. The discussion of the teaching of economics at the college level became a subject of lively interest as the result of a very frank article written by John Ise in 1922. This article stated very clearly some of the issues involved. He believed that economic principles could not be grasped until specialized courses in money and banking and labor problems had been taken. To him economic theory was not a separate entity. He said that there is no "separate body of economic truth which can be carved out and designated as principles." General economics should round out the factual knowledge of the student and coördinate his knowledge of economic theory.

These opinions of Professor Ise caused many college teachers to reconsider their teaching objectives. It was obviously necessary to do this in order to pass judgment upon his proposal that the general course in economics be shifted to the senior year. Consequently, at one of the meetings of the Association, H. L. Lutz proposed three other objectives: familiarity with economic institutions, improvement of reasoning, and improvement of citizenship. At a later date Raymond T. Bye again urged knowledge of institutions and training in "logical and accurate" thinking but in his discussion the third objective, training for citizenship, was converted into training for "social altruism." The discussions of the statements of these three men added very little to their analyses. No definite suggestions as to how their aims were to be accomplished have got into print and after 1926 no other meetings were held to discuss pedagogical questions. Since then occasional articles have appeared and a study has been made by Dr. L. C. Marshall

on the statistics of economics in collegiate schools of business. The latter's work, though of great value, does not deal directly with the question of objectives. It is probable that each college department has gone ahead independently solving its own problems and in a few colleges the general course has been abandoned altogether. College teachers apparently believe that no further progress can be made except through the writing of new textbooks.

The many new books and the revisions of old books show, however, that the colleges are still struggling with their elementary courses. The extent to which these new books solve their problems is uncertain. At least they have the advantage that so long as one's students do not have acquaintances in other colleges studying other texts, the teacher may back himself up by the prestige of his own department's printed page. He does not need to suffer the embarrassment of disagreeing with the text and the consequent loss of confidence. So far as the objectives of Lutz and Bye are concerned, most texts are still too heavily laden with economic "principles" and the information about institutions is too inadequate or inappropriate to satisfy them. There is no reason to suppose that altruism, citizenship, or thinking are much improved.

Some attempts have also been made to improve the work of the high schools during these years. Both college and high-school teachers have worked at this task. As far back as 1918 a committee of the American Economic Association reported on economics in the secondary schools. As a result of this report a committee was appointed to draw up a plan for the teaching of social studies in secondary schools as distinct from economics. It reported in December 1921 and proposed an arrangement for the social studies which was subsequently published by the Association. In 1919 a "Commission on Correlation of Secondary and Collegiate Education with Particular Reference to Business Education" had been established by the Associa-

tion of Collegiate Schools of Business. It consisted of representatives of the Association of Secondary School Principals, the American Federation of Labor, the National Industrial Conference Board, as well as the Association of Collegiate Schools of Business. The Commission finally submitted a plan which resembled closely that of the committee of the American Economic Association mentioned above.

The immediate result of the work of these two committees was the organization of a joint commission consisting of two representatives of each of the following organizations: the American Historical Association, the American Economic Association, the Association of Collegiate Schools of Business, the American Sociological Society, the American Political Science Association, and the National Council of Teachers of Geography. This joint association was instructed to continue the study of the presentation of social studies in the secondary schools. The history of these various committees has been written up, in a volume entitled *Social Studies in the Secondary Schools*, under the auspices of the above mentioned commission of the collegiate schools of business. The entry of these economic and business associations into the field of secondary education is the most recent phase of a long history in which the secondary-school curriculum has been subjected to the influence of essentially collegiate associations. For example, in 1898 and 1905 committees of the American Historical Society and in 1905 and 1911 committees of the American Political Science Association were appointed to draw up similar plans for the secondary-school curriculum. The most obvious result of all these committees has been to introduce more history, then more government, and finally economics and sociology into the high schools. This follows naturally the trend of popular interest towards economics. So far as the methods of teaching economics are concerned the effect has been first to

introduce neoclassical economic principles, and later, in the West at any rate, to increase the amount of sociology and institutionalism in economics. In New York City, however, neoclassical economics is still taught to a large extent. This is due partly to the spirit of independence that characterizes the school system of that city.

In these outside influences individual students of social studies, particularly in schools of education, have also played a part. The work of H. O. Rugg, of C. H. Judd, and of L. C. Marshall is well known. It is difficult to say just how much influence they have upon the teaching of economics. If one may judge the methods of teaching economics by the character of the textbooks used, their influence has not been very great. H. G. Shields found out by means of a post-card questionnaire that Ely and Wicker, Fay, Carver and Thompson are the texts most used in the high schools outside of New York City. In that city texts by Feier, Faubel, Fay, and Reilly are most commonly used. All of these books I have cited are rather heavy with principles. At any rate they do not much resemble the social-study readings of Dr. Rugg and they follow fairly closely the outlines and objectives of neoclassical college texts.

In the Chicago schools the situation is somewhat different. There vocational guidance and elementary economics are combined in a half-year course, the other half year being taken up with United States history and civics. The economic material presents some of the simpler thoughts that have developed about the institutions of production, the exchange of goods, and some selected economic problems. Some of these thoughts are among the simplest in neoclassical economics. There is, however, indicated in the syllabus a great amount of the simple institutionalism and economic history of Leverett Lyon and L. C. Marshall. Lyon's *Making a Living* is used in the course. These conditions arose from a revision of the course in social studies in the junior high schools by a committee of which Miss

Isabella Dolton, assistant superintendent of schools, was chairman. The committee included a group of superintendents, teachers, and principals. Its work was begun in 1926 and finished three years later. There is little doubt that the work of the men at the University of Chicago was partly responsible for these changes.

The most significant aspect of this work by the Chicago schools is not, however, the extent of outside influence. It is the fact that within the school systems themselves important changes are projected in the teaching of economics. In the High School Teachers' Economics Association of New York City discussions have been going on recently over a possible revision of the syllabus for economics. A committee has been appointed to consider a rearrangement of the subject matter of the course around several important economic problems.

That some salutary changes have been made in the teaching of economics since the war in both colleges and high schools is thus certain. I am convinced, however, that they are by no means adequate. A questionnaire that I sent out to most of the college teachers in New York State and the high-school teachers in New York City last year supports this belief. In both colleges and high schools over one third of the teachers regards the teaching of general economics as poor.

Assuming that answers to this questionnaire are representative of college conditions generally and high-school conditions in New York City, what is the reason for such a large margin of failure in solving these problems? It would seem that, if there is any one most important reason, it is the faulty methods by which the teaching objectives are selected. This reason was suggested in part by the questionnaire which required the college and high-school teachers to check the objectives which they considered most suitable for general economics. When the selections of high-school and college teachers were compared it was

found that the college teachers ranked highest such aims as imparting factual knowledge about social institutions, increasing the sense of social interdependence, and the avoidance of common economic fallacies. The high-school teachers ranked first the teaching of economic principles, and training for citizenship. Improvement of consumption was selected almost equally by both groups.

Certain anomalies appear at once in this comparison. Thus high-school teachers who on the average know less about economic theory than college teachers are the more eager to teach it. For some reason, also, high-school teachers place a greater emphasis upon citizenship than do the college teachers. I think it is fair to say that, had the high-school teachers in New York City been less independent of college influences, they would probably not be emphasizing principles so strongly at the present time. In the emphasis upon principles and citizenship and teaching students to think, an idealistic and formalistic approach is indicated that would have been minimized by the colleges. The college teachers, on the other hand, would not have dropped their discussion of objects before they were made more concrete, if they had had the interest in psychology and educational methods that so characterizes the people in the high schools. It thus appears that if the objectives of high-school and college teaching were determined through the cooperation of these two groups a better balance might be achieved for both, as well as better articulation of the work at both levels.

There are two problems facing education today that are of paramount importance. One of these is the problem of determining educational objectives; the other is the problem of coordination and articulation. These two problems are essentially one, that of coordination. The difficulties of choosing satisfactory objectives and then making them concrete and real by applying them to actual social relationships would not be nearly so great if more coordination and cooperation were employed. Different persons and

agencies with different proximate purposes should be called in for help. It will not be enough merely for high-school and college teachers in one subject to get together. This fact is not nearly so well recognized as it should be. Dr. Judd is, however, thoroughly convinced that this is the correct approach. He believes that courses in social studies should be prepared by the largest possible cooperation of trained specialists and a few selected teachers who are given time to perfect their work. He has said that he "once entertained the hope that the higher administrative officers of the school system, the principals and superintendents, would take a direct hand in preparing social-science lessons." He saw "the National Association of High School Principals make two spasmodic efforts and lapse into the usual apathy of the tired administrative officer." He therefore hopes that these administrators will cooperate in finding some one besides themselves to do the work.

Professor L. C. Marshall is of much the same opinion. He would call the sociologist and the psychologist to the aid of the economist. He says ". . . the economic aspects of this matter cannot be wisely considered as separate and distinct from the rest of the social structure. There is after all no such thing as an economic order . . ." One might quote from other men of note who believe that a cooperation of social scientists is necessary. Millions of dollars have been contributed to the writing of an encyclopedia to treat the social sciences synthetically and two of the most prominent research organizations in America are founded on this principle. There is today in the field of economic theory a decided trend in the direction of social synthesis as witnessed by the work of the institutionalists and those who are interested in some sort of improved social control. It may be a proud gesture for an economist or any other social scientist to say he can stand alone. In the light of recent business and social trends there is no more unwise policy. Dr. Dewey whose experience in education entitles his opinions to respect, has said to econo-

mists: "Society looks hopefully to you to find methods of controlling financial convulsions and business depressions—and if education can help we are ready to cooperate" Coöperation is, therefore, the essence of social-science wisdom.

Let us take, for example, the objectives of teaching economics mentioned above. In regard to training for citizenship, if this has any concrete meaning, it is that the citizen must be trained in certain habits of thought and action in regard to economic problems which satisfy the demands of a certain economic philosophy. Take first the philosophy: Has specialization in the subject of economics given rise to any satisfactory philosophy upon which such an objective may be based? Before the teacher of economics in high school or college can have a reasonable philosophic basis for his work, there must be a crossing of ideas between the economist and the socially minded philosopher. Still more, since this sort of philosophy involves civic affairs, the student of political science should be called in. But suppose that we have fearlessly erected our social philosophy, the relation of it to economic action depends upon a thorough knowledge of the actual ways in which this action through the individual comes about. You cannot rely on Marshallian or any other brand of economic theory to give you this. Vocational and economic surveys would get at the facts but, lacking that, a closer contact with business men and actual economic conditions in relation to these problems would be the next best source of help. It is for that reason that some functional contacts between economics teachers and personnel managers is greatly needed.

In regard to training for consumption, Hazel Kyik, who is the first authority in the United States, says that the schools can do little in training students in the "technology of purchase." That leaves to them two objectives: the increase of rational use and the improvement of the social standards of consumption. How is the mere economist to

accomplish these purposes unaided again by philosophy, by education, and by contacts with business men? If these problems are really solved, as they must be, by the particularization of the actual reactions of the students to life conditions, much more exchange of knowledge and research will be needed than is now being carried on. We cannot satisfy ourselves with such things as artificial criticisms of advertising.

Finally, let us take the objectives of training to read the newspaper intelligently and of training to think. You are doubtless familiar with the recent criticisms of the loans to the Republic of Colombia. In one sense ability to think consists of the power to manipulate facts in a problem in such a way as to reach a satisfactory answer; and ability to read the papers intelligently consists of ability to read them in such a way as to promote satisfactory thinking. Success in thinking, the primary object, is usually judged by the satisfactory character of the solutions reached and not merely by the logic employed. The logic is subordinate to the soundness of the solutions. To some minds, therefore, if a student concluded after thinking about the Colombia affair that capitalistic government lead to dishonesty, it would be considered bad thinking; to others, good. This state of affairs arises out of the fact that economic theory sets up today certain axioms in the form of economic principles which are supposed to guide thought to the right conclusions. These axioms are frequently more philosophic than scientific. But, as Professor Raup has pointed out, they can never be scientific until a larger field of attitudes has been explored. Economists, if they want to be scientific in getting students to think, must, paradoxically enough, seek the aid of the philosopher. The latter may, however, be disguised as the *business man*, the *sociologist*, or the *educator*. The only thing certain is that economists cannot do this by isolating themselves.

It must not be concluded, however, that the teaching of economics should consist solely of the teaching of precepts and morals disguised as economic principles. To some

extent it always will and should be this. There are, however, some broad economic generalizations, approaching, it is true, the nature of truisms, which it may be worth while to teach. But certainly, outside of the graduate schools, theories that many competent authorities are uncertain about, and which are very complicated and do not closely affect the life of most citizens, should not be taught. Too frequently we have found that so-called economic laws consist of trends of human behavior which last only a few years at the most, are departed from by the actual phenomena by wide margins, and can be removed altogether by new social control such as has been set up recently in Russia. Such has been the character of some of the generalizations that have been taught in the past and that are, unfortunately, still being taught in some places.

But physicists and biologists, such as Eddington and Haldane, are pointing out the importance of philosophy, values, and variability in higher scientific relationships of which the organic life of man or society is the very highest type. Human freedom is being released from the chains of the mechanist by men like Haldane, who point out that organisms are not explained by such an approach. This should allow a renewed emphasis upon values and philosophy.

In this renewed emphasis two things must be avoided. As Raup and Thorndike have insisted, the new moral basis must be broad and impartial. Impartiality is for these men an essential feature of science. It is thus that philosophy may be made scientific and a new synthesis secured. In addition the new morality must be built up out of and in harmony with the existing human relationships, and to do this the area to which it applies must be limited in time and space. Thus, local conditions must be taken into account. We have pointed out that, in attempting to make any given educational objective concrete, we must go beyond overgeneral theories of sociology and economics to the facts of life in a given locality and at a given time. Our social problems will not be solved by taking sociologi-

cal or economic theories, making them simple and speciously concrete, doctoring them with educational psychology, and then applying them to students in courses. Cooperatively the economic, sociologic, business, and educational expert looking at the facts anew, locally and over limited periods, with the object of discovering how the conditions of education and business should and can be controlled organically—with a fair regard to all these points of view—may be able through education and industry to promote the general welfare.

Granting that this is the correct point of view, what is now being done to work out such an integration? In educational and economic theory, in philosophy and biology, there are trends of thought which seem pointed towards such an integration. The work of Pigou and Hobson, though it may not have been very fruitful to date, indicates this direction in the solution. An interesting attempt is being made at Teachers College by Professor Harold F. Clark to bring together education and economics. It is from this approach, that of relating education and economics, that it seems to the writer one may expect the most promising results. The educator is usually much better acquainted with biology, sociology, psychology, and philosophy than any other one type of social scientist. When he becomes interested in economics or at least economic facts, he has the basis for working out on a limited scale the cooperation and coordination of the various points of view that seem desirable. With the next step, bringing together the actual representatives of various groups minus the excess baggage of older theories to consider welding the local facts together into an organized local plan, the solution of our educational problems may be near. An attempt is now on foot in New York City to organize such a local planning body. On January 7, 1932, an educational economics association was formed in which high-school and college economics teachers, professors of educational economics, and educational sociology and personnel managers are represented.

THE OCCURRENCE OF MAJOR EDUCATIONAL INSTITUTIONS IN THE WESTERN WORLD SINCE 1100 A.D.

WALTER A. LUNDEN

Educational institutions are a part of the social structure which has appeared in time and in space. They belong to the major social institutions, together with the state, the military, and the church. Schools, like other social institutions, are the residue or the depositions of a past culture. Morphologically, they are the crystallizations of the social configuration of a people. As the *Gestalt* has changed from time to time and place to place the character of the respective centers of learning has also changed.¹ The Renaissance and the Reformation created educational enterprises, peculiar to the day, which spread over Europe and the West, and in like manner Soviet Russia has been establishing special schools suited to her singular needs.

It is the purpose of this study to determine the occurrence, the character, and the number of educational institutions in the Western world from 1100 to 1930 A.D. In addition, some of the factors which occasioned the changes of the various schools from century to century will be suggested.

METHOD AND MATERIAL

The material in this investigation includes 779 educational institutions of higher learning now in existence which have been established since 1100 A.D. The information has been taken from the 1930 edition of *Minerva* and a few other sources indicated below.² Five types of educational institutions have been chosen as arbitrary categories:

¹This does not mean to imply that educational institutions are static, changed only by the shifting character of a given civilization. In many instances the schools have been the moving force in bringing about changes in a society. The above statement is made in a broad general sense; i.e., an industrial period will naturally build technical schools and a militaristic period, military schools.

²*Minerva*, Jahrbuch der Gelehrten Welt (Berlin und Leipzig: W. De Gruyter, 1930)

the university, the college, the theological seminary, the technical schools, and the pedagogical institute. In general the distinction between a college and a university is one of degree rather than kind. For this reason the university is taken to include *studia generalia* or a group of colleges and several faculties. A university may and often does include a theological seminary, but this lies in the nature of a university. The theological school is taken as separate from the university. The college is used in the American sense of a school of liberal arts granting the degree of bachelor of arts or master of arts. Therefore this does not include the great number of German *Gymnasien* or *Hochschulen*. State normal schools which have recently become teachers' colleges in the United States have also been omitted. A school which specializes in some form of industrial studies along advanced lines is classified as a technical school. The pedagogical group is used in the European sense, comprising those special schools for the training of teachers for secondary education.

THE AGE OF LIVING EDUCATIONAL INSTITUTIONS

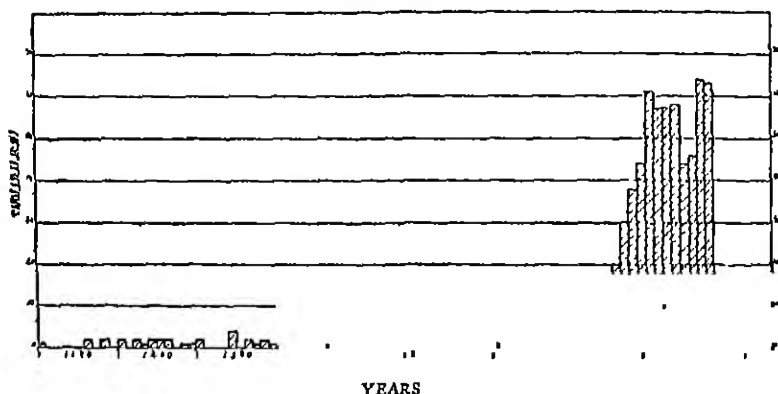
Chart A illustrates the total number of existing institutions which have been founded since 1100, arranged by ten-year periods. Prior to 1750 there are three periods in which a relatively large number of institutions were founded. They cluster around the midpoint of the thirteenth century, the same in the fifteenth, and the last half of the sixteenth century. The first period, 1225 to 1275, marks the rise of universities in Europe. Chronologically these follow upon the Crusades and contacts with Arab culture and are the results of social mobility. The structure of these early schools was that of a teaching guild or university. The thirteenth century was the period of the great schoolmen, Abelard, Albert Magnus, Thomas Aquinas, St. Bonaventura, Roger Bacon, etc. The universities appeared in Italy, France, and England. The second period of 1425 to 1480 marks the high tide of the Renaissance. About

twenty universities were founded in those years which remain today. Germany led other European countries in the number established. In the third period from 1550 to 1625, 42 major institutions were established, 38 of these being universities and 14 theological seminaries. The Reformation and Counter-Reformation account for the appearance of these schools, for ecclesiastical divisions necessitate separate educational centers.

CHART A

THE ACTUAL NUMBER OF MAJOR EDUCATIONAL INSTITUTIONS
FOUNDED SINCE 1100 A. D

(By 10-year periods)



Since 1750 the number of schools established each decade has grown rapidly, except for a slight slowing up between 1890 and 1910. A large number have been established in the United States—since the midpoint of the eighteenth century, in all 249 or about thirty per cent of the total. The great increase in the number of schools in the past 175 years has synchronized with the Industrial and Social Revolution, the advancement of science, and the increased mobility of population.

It is known that a large number of schools have been founded during the past eight hundred years but not all have survived to the present day. Many institutions estab-

lished in periods of controversy were short lived and led a migratory life. It has been said that wherever Abelard went, the University of Paris went with him. In a large number of instances the schools were founded by individuals, in which case the school died with the teacher or founder. Schools like individuals have suffered at the hands of revolutions and great disasters. Some have passed away with the decay of a certain people or have been destroyed by invading nations. The brilliant universities of the Arabian and Saracenic culture have left little to mark their short scintillating careers of the tenth and eleventh century. Other schools have been closed by imperial or papal decree. Plagues have removed entire universities,

TABLE 1
NUMBER OF UNIVERSITIES, COLLEGES, THEOLOGICAL SEMINARIES, TECHNICAL SCHOOLS
AND PEDAGOGICAL SCHOOLS FOUNDED SINCE 1100 A D
(By 25-year periods)

Years	Univer- sities	Colleges	Theolo- gical Semi- naries	Tech- nical Schools	Peda- gogical Schools	Total	Sum- mation	By Cen- turies
1100-24	1					1	1	
1125-49	0					0	1	
1150-74	2					2	3	5
1175-99	2					2	5	
1200-24	3					3	8	
1225-49	4					4	12	13
1250-74	4					4	16	
1275-99	2					2	18	
1300-24	2					2	20	
1325-49	4					4	24	
1350-74	2					2	26	12
1375-99	4					4	30	
1400-24	6					6	36	
1425-49	5	1				6	42	27
1450-74	9					9	51	
1475-99	6					6	57	
1500-24	7		2			9	66	
1525-49	6					6	72	
1550-74	6		4	1		11	83	41
1575-99	10		5			15	98	
1600-24	9		3			12	110	
1625-49	6					6	116	
1650-74	6					6	122	31
1675-99	2	2	3			7	129	
1700-24	4					4	133	
1725-49	7		2	1		10	143	
1750-74	7	1	2	1		11	154	48
1775-99	10	8	2	3		23	177	
1800-24	24	12	7	4		47	224	
1825-49	35	37	14	14		100	324	
1850-74	63	43	9	25	3	143	467	428
1875-99	55	38	11	32	2	138	605	
1900-24	72	15	3	48	19	157	767	174*
1925-30	2	3	1	6	4	17	779	
Total	388	160	68	135	28	779		779

*Last period, 1900-1930, is for 30 years only

leaving but the empty buildings. In order to determine the exact mortality of all the educational institutions it would be necessary to search farther than the scope of this investigation permits. Even then, perhaps, the final answer would not be conclusive.

Table 1 depicts the age distribution of educational institutions under consideration. From this it is clear that the greater number of schools have been founded within the past 125 years. Approximately 77.2 per cent have been established since 1800. The nineteenth century was a period of tremendous growth in all types of schools. More were founded in this period than in all the other centuries.

TABLE 2
OCCURRENCE OF MAJOR EDUCATIONAL INSTITUTIONS IN THE WESTERN WORLD
(By 25-year periods in Leading Countries)

YEARS	COUNTRIES																						
	Italy	France	England	Spain	Portugal	Austria	Poland	Germany	Scotland	Holland	Switzerland	Hungary	Sweden	Denmark	Russia	Ireland	Yugoslavia	South America	United States	India	Japan	China	
1100-24		1																					
1125-49		1	1																				
1150-74		1	1																				
1175-99		1	1	1																			
1200-24		2	1																				
1225-49		3	1																				
1250-74		1	1	2																			
1275-99		1	1		1																		
1300-24		1	1																				
1325-49		2					1																
1350-74							1																
1375-99		1																					
1400-24			2					3															
1425-49		1	3	1				3	1														
1450-74		1			2			4	1	1													
1475-99									1	1		1											
1500-24				4																			
1525-49		1	1					5															
1550-74		2	2					3		1													
1575-99		1		4	1			1	1	2					1	1							
1600-24				3				1	3	1													
1625-49									1	2													
1650-74						1			1	2													
1675-99			1						1	1				1									
1700-24			1	1				5												2			
1725-49		1	1											1					1	2			
1750-74		1	1																	4			
1775-99				2	1			3	4	1					2								
1800-24			1					4	3	1	1												
1825-49			1	15		1		9	1	3					3					20			
1850-74		2	4	6	3	1		1	2	1		2		1	1	4			2	48	2		
1875-99		1	5	11	3			1	1	1	1		2		4	2	1		84	71	8		
1900-24		2	1	13	2	2	1	1	1	2		4		19	1	1		5	13	13	5	15	
Totals 663	27	25	55	32	6	6	7	68	15	15	7	9	5	23	4	7	4	28	25	32	10	20	

Table 2 shows the occurrence of institutions for important countries by twenty-five-year periods. This reveals the development and spread of schools in time and in space for the past eight hundred years. There were four universities founded prior to 1100 but these were not included in the table. There is some evidence to show that a school was established at Cairo, Egypt, in 970 A.D., but it was short lived. There were three institutions organized in Italy in the eleventh century but their existence was periodic. These were Bologna, founded about 1000, Parma in 1025, and Salerno in 1089. The latter had a school of medicine as early as 850 A.D., which led medieval Europe in medical studies. By 1817 it had passed out of existence. It is evident from the table that the United States far exceeds all other countries in the number of schools founded for the period. Germany ranks second and England third. The establishment of 62 institutions in the Orient in the past century is largely the result of the influence of the Occident. While these schools are in a sense, new, these nations had their respective educational systems long before those of the West.

FOUNDERS

In the main it has been difficult to determine the founder or founders of a number of the institutions. Generally, the earlier schools were established either by kings or nobility, the papacy or the church. In some instances an outstanding teacher created a school around himself. A few were begun by the migration of students and faculty from an existing institution, either by choice or expulsion. The following table has been formulated from the information which G. Compayré gives in his work on *Abelard*.^a Four of those which arose independently were established by the migration of members of existing schools to other parts of Europe. Of the 47 founded in these two centuries only 28 exist to the present day.

^aG. Compayré, *Abelard and the Origin and Early History of the Universities* (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1893), pp. 50-52.

TABLE 3
FOUNDERS OF UNIVERSITIES IN THE THIRTEENTH AND
FOURTEENTH CENTURIES

Century	How Founded			Total
	King	Papacy	Independently	
13th	11	4	4	19
14th	11	14	3	28
Total	22	18	7	47

The occurrence of educational institutions in South America as early as 1550, three fourths of a century before the first school in North America, is due to the efforts of the Society of Jesus. The same organization established a number of schools in Spain. Any mention made of the development of educational institutions in Europe should not omit the universities of the Arabs, in the tenth and eleventh centuries. Bagdad was the capital of letters as well as the seat of the Caliph. Benjamin Tudela relates in his *Itinerary* that he saw more than "twenty schools for the propagation of philosophy" in Alexandria.⁴ Cairo also contained a large number of splendid schools, well equipped and financed. One source indicates that the University of Cairo had an annual income of 250,000 ducats with substantial buildings.⁵ Of all the famous Arabian schools none was greater than those built in Cordova, Granada, and Seville. The later efforts of Europe are but feeble attempts by comparison to the brilliancy of the short-lived Saracenic culture. While this phase of the subject is tremendously interesting, it lies beyond the scope of this paper.

CHARACTER OF INSTITUTIONS FOUNDED

Except for the great number of universities founded in the nineteenth century the last quarter of the sixteenth century surpasses all other periods. There were a large number of schools founded earlier but they were not purely universities. Many were established around the episcopal

⁴S. S. Laurie, *The Rise and Early Constitution of Universities* (New York: D. Appleton and Company, 1891), pp. 89-90.

⁵A ducat varied in value according to the country and the times from 83 cents to \$2.28. For this reason the exact value of the 250,000 cannot be estimated definitely.

schools in Europe. The University of Paris has always been considered the first university on the Continent. It is significant because "the universities of Oxford, Cambridge in England, of Prague, Vienna, Heidelberg, and Cologne in Germany derive their formal constitution, the tradition of their education and their modes of instruction from Paris."⁶

When the University of Paris excluded foreign students from its lectures in 1167, the English scholars in residence left for the British Isles and organized Oxford University. Some years later a migration of students from Oxford began the University of Cambridge, in 1207 or 1209.

At this point it may be of interest to draw a comparison between the universities of the present time and those of the past. Educational institutions of today are known for their great wealth, endowment, and physical equipment. That which made a university of the thirteenth and fourteenth century remarkable was its lack of equipment and its poverty.

What rendered the University of Paris especially powerful, nay positively formidable, was its poverty. The university did not possess so much as a building of its own, but commonly was obliged to hold its meetings in the cloisters of friendly monastic orders. Its existence thus assumed a purely spiritual (intellectual) character, and was rendered permanently independent of the temporal authority.⁷

With the rise of the Industrial Revolution and the growth of wealth in the nineteenth century, universities grew rapidly throughout the West, so that there were more than 64 institutions of this character founded in the third quarter of the same century.

Chronologically the college is of much more recent origin than the university. The former did not appear as a definite institution until the last quarter of the eighteenth century. Ninety-two per cent of the present colleges have been founded since 1800. Sectarianism and denominationalism

⁶Compayré, *op cit*, p 61

⁷Laurie, *op cit*, p 161

account for the establishment of the large number of colleges in the United States from 1825 to 1875. Each church body set up schools peculiar to itself. Since this time the number of colleges founded annually has decreased notably.⁸

Prior to the Reformation theological learning obtained in the various universities of Europe. When the doctrinal differences arose with the religious revolt, the Protestant leaders founded separate and distinct schools or seminaries to promulgate and defend their particular doctrines. The first of these was a school founded at Marburg in 1527. Then for a period of seventy-five years a large number of such institutions spread over Western Europe. As a Counter-Reformation move the Society of Jesus established their respective seminaries. These spread to the new world and the islands of the Pacific Ocean.

With the religious revival of the second quarter of the nineteenth century and the multiplication of denominations and sects, the number of theological schools arose in the United States and Canada. Since that period the roll of divinity schools founded each year has been declining rapidly. In the first quarter of the present century the number has fallen to a level equal to that of the eighteenth century.

As industry and commerce have advanced throughout the world the number of technical schools has been increasing rapidly. Prior to 1800 they were few such schools either in the United States or Europe. Since 1825 the number of technical institutions founded each year has continued to increase even to the first quarter of the present century. More than half have been built since 1880.

At this point it may be well to suggest a trend in educational institutions which is already evident. The number of colleges and theological schools founded annually has consistently been decreasing since 1850, whereas the number

⁸It may be contended that the college preceded the university in point of origin. The data here concerns only those which have remained colleges and those which are definitely known as universities at the present time.

of technical schools has increased. This situation may be taken as a reflection of our present industrial society. As pointed out earlier, a given time may be characterized by the institutions which it builds.

The establishment and development of major educational institutions appears to have passed through various stages. At the outset the *studia generalia* appeared in point of time. Then with each succeeding century there came special schools, colleges, theological and technical institutes. In other words the process of change has been that from homogeneity to heterogeneity. This would be even more evident if the highly specialized institutions were considered, as schools of mines, engineering, drama, military, and all the rest. In a sense the educational institutions manifest the same change through which other social institutions pass. First, there is a period of an incoherent, unorganized program, with wide latitude during which individuals play an important rôle. After this stage is past there appears the phenomenon of organization and differentiation. Simultaneous with this appears centralization of authority and discipline. Articulation, coordination, and harmony come to be important factors. This may be characterized as the period of crystallization. The institution, as such, becomes fixed and equilibrium is necessary for existence. In this stage the institution overshadows any and every individual member in the same. When this transition has taken place, students study at such and such a university and not "at the feet" of such and such a great teacher. At one end of the configuration is Abelard, who *was* the University of Paris; while at the other extreme stand the institutions of the present day with great physical equipment, intricate organization, and rigid academic differentiation.

SOME SOCIAL FACTORS ASSOCIATED WITH THE VOCATIONAL CHOICES OF COLLEGE MEN

W A. ANDERSON

This study considers the significance of certain social factors with relation to the kinds of occupations selected as a life work by students at North Carolina State College.

What proportion of the students in this institution have made vocational choices? From what fields are these choices made? What is the relation of the father's vocation to that selected by his son? How much occupational transmission is there from grandfathers to grandsons?

Is there any relation between the place where these men were reared and the vocation they choose to follow? Are the suggestions of fathers and mothers important in the vocational choices of the son? What relationship is there between the choice of a life work and the chief industries in the areas where the students were born and reared? Who are considered the leading citizens in the community and does there seem to be any association between their occupations and the vocational choice of the college man? What chief reasons are given by these students for the vocational choices they have made?

The data for this study were secured from 673, 44 per cent, of the 1,528 regularly enrolled students at North Carolina State College, as of October 1929. All were men.

THE NUMBER OF STUDENTS MAKING VOCATIONAL CHOICES

Of the 673 students, 423 or 62.9 per cent state that they have chosen a life work, whereas 224, 33.3 per cent, state they have not made such a choice. (See Table 1.) North Carolina State College, like other land grant institutions, prepares for specific vocations, particularly in the fields of agriculture, engineering, textile manufacturing, and other

industrial occupations. It is to be expected that a significant proportion of the student body should have definite vocational objectives. Two thirds of the total group stated a general field in which they expected to work, such as agriculture or engineering. But to the question of what specific type of work they expected to follow, only 50 per cent gave answers.

Here, then, is a school, preparing for specific vocations, in which one third of the students have not chosen a life work, and one half do not know what specific work they hope to follow. Is this true of American colleges in general? If so, it would appear that emphasis should be placed upon vocational guidance among college men.

As one passes from the freshman class to the senior class, one finds that a greater proportion of the students have made vocational choices. Freshmen have not made vocational choices in 38 per cent of the cases, while seniors have not made them in 21 per cent. In the selective process, the students who are less certain of their vocational objectives probably drop out of college to a greater extent than do those who have clearly defined vocational goals. Assisting the freshman to clearly define his vocational purpose might counteract this tendency to drop out.

OCCUPATIONAL FIELDS SELECTED AS LIFE WORK

Of 668 students, 254 or 38 per cent did not name the occupational field selected as a life work. The balance named agriculture, engineering, manufacturing, business, and the professions as the fields of choice. (*See Table 2.*) Sixty per cent of the students in the School of Science and Business named no vocational field. This school is the arts division of the institution, so to speak, and it appears that those students who do not have vocational objectives to a large degree enter this division.

A classification of the occupations of the fathers of these students shows that agriculture contributes 41 per cent to the student group; business, 31 per cent, the pro-

TABLE 1
VOCATIONAL CHOICES OF 673 NORTH CAROLINA STATE COLLEGE STUDENTS BY SCHOOLS
AND CLASSES, 1929

<i>School</i>	<i>Number in School</i>	<i>Have made a vocational choice</i>	<i>Have not made a choice</i>	<i>State a general field of work</i>	<i>State a specific type of work</i>
Agriculture . . .	91	65	23	69	48
Engineering . . .	221	172	43	186	153
Science and Business . . .	292	124	151	130	91
Textile . . .	60	62	4	62	47
Total	673	423	224	447	339
Freshmen . . .	211	124	81	133	100
Sophomore . . .	199	117	70	131	96
Junior . . .	131	134	45	96	69
Senior . . .	132	98	28	97	74
Total	673	423	224	447	339

TABLE 2
THE OCCUPATIONAL FIELDS SELECTED AS A LIFE WORK BY 668 NORTH CAROLINA STATE
COLLEGE STUDENTS BY SCHOOLS, OCTOBER, 1929

<i>School</i>	<i>No selec- tion made</i>	<i>Farm- ing</i>	<i>Engi- neer</i>	<i>Manu- factur- ing</i>	<i>Busi- ness</i>	<i>Profes- sion</i>	<i>Others</i>	<i>Total</i>
Agriculture . . .	23	60	0	3	0	4	0	90
Engineering . . .	49	0	155	6	5	5	2	221
Science and Business . . .	174	21	0	5	53	32	3	288
Textile . . .	8	0	0	60	1	0	0	69
Total . . .	254	81	155	73	59	41	5	668

fessions and skilled labor, 10 per cent each; government positions, 6 per cent; while unskilled labor contributes but one per cent. But one in each 100 students in this institution comes from the unskilled labor class. The process of social selection makes it almost impossible for this group, constituting the bulk of North Carolina's population, to send their children to higher educational institutions.

While agriculture contributes 41 per cent to the group, only 12 per cent state that they hope to enter agricultural occupations on leaving the school, whereas engineering contributes practically no students, and 23 per cent of the group expect to enter this field. Business and manufacturing contribute 31 per cent to this student group, whereas 20 per cent state that they have chosen to enter this field.

Agriculture as an occupation is not transmitting itself in this college group, it would appear, to as great an extent as the other vocations represented. Of the 254 students not stating a vocational choice, only 9 per cent were in the

school of agriculture. The balance are in the schools of science and business, engineering, and textiles, which means that very few of these expect to enter agricultural work.

TABLE 3

THE OCCUPATIONS OF THE FATHERS OF THE NORTH CAROLINA
STATE COLLEGE STUDENTS, OCTOBER 1929

Father's Occupation	Number
Agriculture	270
Business and manufacture	204
Government positions	41
Professions	65
Skilled labor	64
Unskilled labor	7
Total	651

THE TRANSMISSION OF OCCUPATIONS

In 668 cases the occupation of the father and the vocational choice of the son were stated. In only 80 cases, 12 per cent of this total, was the vocational choice of the son the occupation followed by the father. (*See* Table 4.) Occupational transmission from father to son, therefore, is not very great. This transmission occurs most frequently in the field of agriculture, where presumably sons are preparing to take over the farms of their fathers or enter some aspect of agricultural work.

In contrast with the transmission of occupations from father to college-going son is the transmission of occupation from the grandfather to the father of the student. Here one finds, among 586 cases where the occupations of both are stated, a transmission of 45 per cent, almost four times as great as that from father to son.

It would appear from these figures that the father's occupation has little influence in causing the college-going son to choose this as a life work. Further study might reveal that the low degree of transmission from father to son is the result of the son's desire to escape from the father's occupation.

TABLE 4

THE TRANSMISSION OF OCCUPATIONS OVER THREE GENERATIONS AMONG NORTH CAROLINA STATE COLLEGE STUDENTS, OCTOBER 1929

NUMBER IN SAME OCCUPATION

School	Fathers and Grandfathers		Fathers and Sons		Grandfathers, Fathers, and Sons	
	Number reported	Number in occupation	Number reported	Number in occupation	Number reported	Number in occupation
Agriculture	89	58	89	38	89	35
Engineering	199	64	221	22	195	0
Science and Business	215	129	292	8	245	8
Textile . . .	53	11	66	12	53	2
Total group .	586	265	668	80	555	45

PLACE WHERE REARED AND VOCATIONAL CHOICES

Of the 619 students who stated they were reared in a city (defined as a place of over 2500 people), or a town (population 500 to 2500), or the open country (places of less than 500 population and the farm regions), 60 per cent desire to work in a city, 21 per cent in a town, and 19 per cent in the country. (*See Table 5.*) Of this group, 36 per cent were reared in cities, 24 per cent in towns, and 40 per cent in the country. A much larger proportion of the group desire to work in cities than were reared there, while a much smaller per cent desire to work in towns or the open country than were reared in these areas.

In all, 45 per cent of the students desired to shift residences from their place of birth and rearing. Only 15 per cent of the city-reared boys desired to shift as contrasted with 62 per cent of the town or country boys. Only a small proportion, 7 per cent, of the city and town students expressed the desire to shift residences to the rural areas, while a large proportion, 45 per cent, of the country and town boys expressed the desire to shift to the city. Eighty-five per cent of the boys reared in cities wanted to work in the city, while 38 per cent of the boys from towns and the country wished to return to these places. It is interesting that equal proportions of the boys reared in towns and the country desire to return to these respective places, while the desire to shift residences comes largely from boys reared in these areas.

TABLE 5

LOCALITY WHERE 619 NORTH CAROLINA STATE COLLEGE STUDENTS EXPRESS A DESIRE TO WORK WHEN THEY COMPLETE COLLEGE

Students in school of	Number Reared in	NUMBER DESIRE TO WORK IN			
		City	Town	Country	
Agriculture	City	17	3	4	10
	Town	7	2	2	3
	Country	69	4	8	50
Science and Business	City	85	79	5	1
	Town	63	31	24	2
	Country	119	52	28	32
Engineering	City	86	78	2	6
	Town	61	40	20	1
	Country	60	33	17	10
Textile	City	35	30	5	0
	Town	19	8	11	0
	Country	12	8	4	0
Total	City	223	190	16	17
	Town	150	87	57	6
	Country	243	97	57	92
All places combined.		619	374	130	115

Of 630 students who stated the place where they were reared, 276, 40 per cent, made no statement of vocational choice. (See Table 6.) Of the students reared in cities, 34 per cent had made no vocational choice, as contrasted with 42 per cent of the students reared in towns and 41 per cent reared in the country who had made no choice. Boys reared in cities seem slightly more certain of their vocational choices than those reared in small towns and open country.

Seventeen, 7 per cent, of the 251 students reared in cities and 6, 4 per cent, of the 133 students reared in towns stated farming as their vocational choice. (See Table 6) The open country in North Carolina contains few occupations in addition to farming so it has little power to absorb population. To select vocations other than farming almost invariably requires residence in the town or city. There is, therefore, only a slight shift of residence from the cities and towns in order to follow occupational choices on the part of college-trained men.

Of the group of 276 men reared in the open country, 55 or 20 per cent stated farming as their vocational choice, while 80 per cent named occupations demanding residence in a city or town. While, therefore, there seems to be

little choice of occupations that would bring college men into the open country, there is very significant choice of occupations that would carry men from the country to the town and city.

TABLE 6

THE VOCATIONAL CHOICES OF 660 NORTH CAROLINA STATE COLLEGE STUDENTS AND THE PLACES WHERE THEY WERE REARED

Occupational Choice	Number Reared in		
	City	Town	Country
Accountant	1	.	1
Banker	..	.	1
General business	17	10	17
Chemist	2	2	2
Civil service	1	..	..
Contractor	1	.	1
Cotton broker	1	1	..
Dentist	..	1	..
Engineer	76	32	47
Farmer	17	6	55
Insurance agent	1	..	.
Journalist	2	1	1
Lawyer	1	1	1
Manufacturer	33	17	18
Merchant	2	1	.
Minister	..	1	..
Physician	2	1	1
Real estate	1	..	.
Railroad	1	..	.
Salesman	..	..	1
Teaching	3	2	13
Textile dyeing	1	..	.
Tobacco buyer	1	.	.
Scientist	2	1	3
Artist	..	.	1
No selection made	85	56	113
Total	251	133	276

Perhaps the choice of a life work is associated with a desire to live in a certain area. Of 642 students who expressed a desire to follow their occupation in a certain place, 412, 64 per cent, wished to work in a city; 119, 19 per cent, wanted to work in a town; while 111, 17 per cent, wanted to work in the open country. (*See* Table 7.) Of

the large group of men reporting no vocational choice, 69 per cent expressed the desire to work in a city, 21 per cent in a town, and 10 per cent in the open country. Even where there is doubt as to the kind of work the student desires to follow, there seems to be little serious doubt as to where he wishes to work. Of the vocational choices made, the only ones which the students expressed the desire to follow in the open country to any significant degree were farming, engineering, and teaching. Seventy-eight per cent of the students who selected farming as a life work expressed the desire to pursue this occupation with residence in the open country, while 22 per cent wished to live in a small town and city. Of 139 men selecting engineering as a life work, 11, 8 per cent, expressed the wish to live in the country; while of 16 men selecting teaching, 6, 37 per cent, wished to live in the country. There are a few scattered cases of the selection of vocations which the men hope to follow in the open country but they are not significant so far as the total group is concerned.

THE SIGNIFICANCE OF THE VOCATIONAL SUGGESTIONS OF FATHERS AND MOTHERS

Vocational choices made by college men may be influenced by the suggestions of fathers and mothers. In 661 cases, 394, 60 per cent, of the fathers and 429, 65 per cent, of the mothers made no vocational suggestion which consciously registered in the minds of the sons. In 277 instances where fathers made suggestions, 75 sons, 27 per cent, made the vocational choice suggested by the father. This is 11 per cent of the total group. In 242 instances where mothers made vocational suggestions, 54 students, 22 per cent, selected the occupation as life work. This is 8 per cent of the total group. Thus it would appear that only about one student in 10 is influenced in his vocational choice by the father or mother, if one assumes that their suggestions were influential. The association between the choice of the son and the suggestions of the parents may simply be accidental.

TABLE 7

VOCATIONAL CHOICES OF 642 NORTH CAROLINA STATE COLLEGE STUDENTS
AND THE PLACE IN WHICH THEY DESIRE TO FOLLOW THAT WORK

Occupation Selected	Number Desiring to Work in		
	City	Town	Country
Accountant	1	1	
Banker	1	..	.
General business	33	10	.
Chemist	4	1	1
Civil service	1	.	.
Contractor	2	..	.
Cotton or stock broker	2	..	.
Engineer	119	16	12
Farmer	5	13	61
Insurance agent	1	..	
Journalist	4	.	
Lawyer	2		1
Manufacturer	50	18	.
Merchant	2	1	.
Physician	2	2	.
Real estate	1	..	
Railroad	..	..	1
Salesman	1		.
Teaching	3	8	7
Textile dyeing	1		
Tobacco buyer	1	.	
Scientist	4	..	2
Artist	1	..	..
No selection made	171	51	25
Total	412	119	111

The occupations suggested by the fathers in the order of their numerical importance include engineering, 60; farming, 37, manufacturing, 33; physician, 31; general business, 30; lawyer, 18; minister, 10.

The mothers' suggestions include physician, 49; engineer, 38; manufacturing, 37; ministry, 36; general business, 25, farming, 22; and lawyer, 21. Fathers and mothers who made vocational suggestions to their sons emphasized the professions and business, especially engineering, medicine, law, and the ministry. The difference in the suggestions of fathers and mothers is noteworthy.

THE CHIEF INDUSTRY IN THE AREA WHERE THE STUDENT
WAS REARED AND HIS VOCATIONAL CHOICE

Does there seem to be any association between the chief industry conducted in the area where the students have been reared and the choices they have made of a life work? Of 661 students giving information, 364, 55 per cent, stated that farming was the chief industry of the area. In 87 cases, 13 per cent, textile manufacturing was named, while 2 per cent named lumbering and railroading, respectively. No others were listed as the chief occupations in significant numbers. Thirty-two students, 5 per cent, stated no chief occupation.

Of the group of 661 men, 93, 14 per cent, stated as their vocational choice the occupation named as the chief industry of their home area. These, however, included only agriculture, in which case 66 men named it as their choice, and textile manufacturing, which 23 men named as their choice. In both these cases it is probably true that some direct connection with the occupation, such as ownership of the farm or mill by the father, was influential in the son's choice. In the largest proportion of the cases it is apparent that little relationship exists between the vocational choice and the chief occupation of the area. Whether a negative association is present between the vocational choice and the chief industry needs further study. It may be true that the students decided not to enter the chief occupation of the area and therefore made choices of other occupations or made no vocational choice at all. Such a condition may account for the significant proportion of this group who have made no choice at all.

THE OCCUPATION OF THE LEADING CITIZEN AND THE
VOCATIONAL CHOICES OF THE STUDENTS

In 660 cases, 65 men, 9 per cent, did not state the occupation of the person they considered the leading citizen in the area where they resided. The rest of the group named farming in 178, 27 per cent, of the cases as the occupation

of the leading citizen; manufacturing in 90, 14 per cent, of the cases, banking in 77, 12 per cent, of the cases; law in 56, 8 per cent, of the cases; medicine and merchandising in 30 cases, 5 per cent, each. Other occupations were named in smaller numbers.

In all, 75 students, 11 per cent, of the 660 men named as their vocational choice the occupation of the person they considered the leading citizen of the area. There is, therefore, not much association between the vocational choice and the occupation of the leading citizen.

It is interesting to note that farming was named as the occupation of the leading citizen in the area where these students were raised to a greater degree than any other vocation. Though in many communities there may not have been serious competition, nevertheless the leadership of farmers is without doubt recognized in many areas where merit is required to occupy a leader's rôle.

REASONS FOR SELECTING A VOCATION AS A LIFE WORK

The students in this group were asked to state the chief reason for selecting as a life work the occupation they did. In 177 cases, 26 per cent of the total, no reason was given. The answers given by the rest were classified into the seven major classes into which they seemed to fall. Of the seven reasons, "interest in or love for the work" was stated by 227, 34 per cent, of the group. (*See Table 8.*) This reason is a broad generalization, but may represent a chief element in the choice of vocations by college men. "Opportunity in the field" was stated as the chief reason for the vocational selection made by 110 men, 16 per cent of the group. "Opportunity" is also a very broad category and might mean a number of things. Sixty-eight men, 10 per cent, stated that "previous preparation for the work" was the chief influence with them. In 50 cases, 7 per cent, "economic return" was stated as the chief motive for selecting the line of work. This would make it appear that the economic motive is not the most significant in choosing

vocations. It may be that economic return is unconsciously assumed by many of these men. "Need for the work in society" and "the social contribution that can be made" are reported as the chief reason for selecting a given occupation in 5 per cent of the cases

TABLE 8
THE CHIEF REASON STATED FOR THE SELECTION OF A SPECIFIC OCCUPATION AS A LIFE
WORK BY 669 STUDENTS AT NORTH CAROLINA STATE COLLEGE
NUMBER SELECTED BECAUSE OF

School	Pre- para- tion for	Econ- omic re- turn	In depend- ence	Need for work in society	Interest in or love for work	Oppor- tunity in field	Social contri- bu- tion	Not stated	Total
Agriculture	5	9	5	2	41	6	9	14	91
Engineering	21	15	0	3	92	53	3	34	221
Science and Business	35	21	2	5	71	24	8	116	288
Textile	7	5	0	0	17	27	0	13	69
Total	68	50	7	10	221	110	20	177	669

Interest and opportunity, however defined, seem, therefore, to bulk largest among these men in the verbal expressions of reasons for their selection of vocations. One wonders how much information concerning these vocations the students had upon which to base their ideas of interest and opportunity.

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

One third of the men studying at North Carolina State College of Agriculture and Engineering have not chosen a life work and though 63 per cent of them state that they have made the choice of a vocation, only 50 per cent state the specific type of work they expect to follow.

This institution prepares for specific vocations, and if other American colleges and universities show similar conditions, it would appear that some emphasis should be placed upon vocational guidance among college men, especially among freshmen.

In the choice of vocation, agriculture is not being transmitted to as great an extent as other occupations, while engineering is selected by an abnormal number of students.

The transmission of occupations from paternal grand-

fathers to fathers is almost four times as great as the transmission from the fathers to their college-going sons. One in eight of the college men selected the vocation of their father as their own life work

Almost one half of these students expressed the desire to shift their residence from the place where they were reared and to carry on their life work in some other type of place. This desire to shift expressed itself chiefly among the town and country-reared boys, where 62 per cent expressed the desire to shift. Only a small proportion of the students expressed the desire to follow their life work in rural areas while a large proportion expressed the desire to work in cities. The rural areas contain few occupations other than farming and so have little power to absorb population, while the selection of certain types of work as vocations practically demands residence in a city or town. Only a small percentage of the men selecting occupations nominally carried on in cities expressed the wish to work in the open country.

Most fathers and mothers do not make positive suggestions that register consciously in the minds of their sons regarding vocational careers. Further study might reveal many negative suggestions that tend to cause the sons to turn away from given occupations to other types of work or to make no choice of a life work at all. Where parents make suggestions of a vocational career, about one son in ten selects that vocation. This association may be purely accidental.

Farming and textile manufacturing are the two major industries carried on in the areas where these students were reared. Only a small proportion of the men, 14 per cent, stated either of these two as their vocational choice. Fathers probably own farms or mills and sons expect to take over this work.

The students select as a life work only to a small degree the occupation of the person they consider the leading citizen in the area where they lived. Farming is named

as the occupation of the leading citizen by one fourth of the students

The reasons stated for selecting a given occupation as a life work emphasize interest and opportunity in the work. Economic return is not significantly emphasized, though students may have included it in the term opportunity. No student stated that he was going to follow an occupation because of the suggestion of father or mother. The reasons stated are in broad terms and are general.

The results of this study are largely negative, indicating that the choice of a life work is not significantly influenced by social factors which are often suggested as being of importance.

STATEMENT OF THE OWNERSHIP, MANAGEMENT, CIRCULATION, ETC.
REQUIRED BY THE ACT OF CONGRESS OF AUGUST 24, 1912

Of The Journal of Educational Sociology, published from September to May, inclusive, at Albany, N. Y., for October 1, 1932

State of New York)
County of New York) ss

Before me, a Notary Public in and for the State and County aforesaid, personally appeared Jean B. Barr, who, having been duly sworn according to law, deposes and says that she is the Business Manager of The Journal of Educational Sociology and that the following is, to the best of her knowledge and belief, a true statement of the ownership, management of the aforesaid publication for the date shown in the above caption, required by the Act of August 24, 1912, embodied in section 411, Postal Laws and Regulations

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Sworn to and subscribed before me this 3d day of October, 1932

EARLE L. WASHBURN

My commission expires March 30, 1934

DIVISION OF RESEARCH

THESES DEALING WITH THE PROBLEMS OF ACADEMIC FREEDOM

The literature in the field of higher education has run a steady output of material upon the classical problem of academic freedom. Most of this material has been emotional rather than judicial or scientific. Little effort has been made to determine the relative rôles played by faculties and boards of control in actual administrative practice. Two recent doctoral theses in the School of Education at New York University have attacked this problem; the first¹ dealing with American State universities, the second² making a comparative study of practices in this country and in Europe.

Bird isolated the following functions in university control with the purpose of determining, as objectively as possible, the relative parts played by the teaching faculty and external boards of control in the exercise of these functions: (1) making regulations concerning admissions; (2) determining curricula; (3) determining the requirements for degrees; (4) selecting faculty members; (5) appointing faculty members; (6) preparing the budget, (7) approving the budget.

The most significant conclusions reached in his study of 36 State universities may be quoted from an abstract of Bird's thesis:

Internal Control—The faculties and their officers and committees actually determine policies governing admissions and curricula in all of the institutions studied, and they determine policies governing degrees in all but one of the institutions. They help in the selection of faculty members in all but one of the institutions studied and actually assist in the appointment of faculty members in five of the universities. In all of the cases included in this study the faculties and their officers and

¹A Study of the Problem of Faculty Control in State Universities, by Joseph W. Bird

²A Comparative Study of the Problem of Control in the Administration of Higher Education in the United States and Europe, by Samuel Katzin

committees help in the preparation of the budget and in two instances they assist officially in the approval of the budget.

External Control—The university presidents (who are directly responsible to the governing boards) do not assist in determining policies governing admissions, nor do they assist in prescribing and controlling the curricula. In only one instance does the president help in determining policies governing degrees. The presidents cooperate in the selection of faculty members in twenty-three of the cases studied, and actually make the appointments in all of the thirty-six instances. They assist in the preparation of the budget in all of the universities studied and actually approve the budget in all but one case.

Such a study should go far towards quieting the emotions of those restless proponents of academic freedom who apparently would make of university administration an old ladies' sewing-bee. After all, in our American State universities, the rule, with rare exceptions, is that faculties control educational policies, while external boards and their presidents, as the responsible representatives of the State, control financial and business policies.

Katzin's study dealt with the same factors of control and three others, taking for its domain the universities of the United States, Germany, France, England, Belgium, Poland, and Italy. His versatility in the command of several European languages enabled him to get at the history and legal bases of control in the charters, statutes, and other authoritative documents in the universities of these various countries. Brief quotations from his conclusions follow:

The writer reaches the following conclusions: (1) that none of the continental European universities studied have complete faculty control, (2) that in Great Britain only a smaller part of the universities have complete faculty control, while in the greater part of British universities the control is divided between the faculties and external boards, and (3) that in American universities, while they are legally entirely subject to external boards of control, in actual practice the faculties participate to a considerable extent in the exercise of important basic powers or functions of control.

The writer, therefore, concludes that while there is a certain amount of contrast between America and Europe in the rela-

tionship of the powers of control possessed by university faculties to the powers of control possessed by boards of control or other external agencies, that contrast is not as great as the critics of American universities control maintain. Neither are the European universities in general free from outside control, as it is claimed by the critics, nor are the American universities entirely under outside control. Essentially—whether in America or in Europe—university control is "mixed control," as both in America and in Europe the faculties and external agencies collaborate in the exercise of functions of control.

These two theses constitute valuable contributions of a factual character towards the better understanding of a problem where the literature has hitherto been largely polemical.

OTHER RECENT NEW YORK UNIVERSITY THESES IN THE FIELD OF HIGHER EDUCATION

Another doctoral thesis dealing with administration in higher education is that of Dr. Alexander Brody who also chose the American State university for his realm of investigation.³ Using court decisions as his basic source material the author has brought together by discriminating analysis and well-nigh indefatigable labor a valuable body of legal principles and practices for the guidance of those interested in the administration of State universities. Let presidents and potential presidents take note.

Still another important study of a State university administrative problem is found in the thesis of Dr. Oscar C. Schwiering of the University of Wyoming.⁴ Here the author deals with the problem of reorganization of the first two years of university work with especial reference to the better adaptation of curricula to the needs of students. After a thorough study of experiments and progressive practices in colleges, junior colleges, and universities throughout the country, application is made of principles thus derived to conditions in the University of Wyoming.

³The Relation of Government to Higher Education, by Alexander Brody

⁴Curricula Reorganization in the Lower Division of State Universities with Special Application to the University of Wyoming

from which the author had collected extensive data regarding students.

Dr. Milton D. Proctor, formerly superintendent of schools at Uniontown, Pa., in a thesis entitled *Terminal Curricula in the Coal-Mining Industry*, presents a thoroughgoing study of the problems of determining two-year terminal curricula of a vocational character for junior colleges located in cities and communities of the bituminous coal mining areas of Pennsylvania, Maryland, West Virginia, and Ohio. The timeliness of such a study becomes apparent when it is realized that from a State point of view the present legislation relative to the junior college in Pennsylvania is very limited and inadequate.

Dean Frans A. Ericsson of Upsala College in a thesis entitled *Freshman Failures and How to Prevent Them*, studies 402 freshman students, approximately 100 students at each of four Swedish Lutheran colleges: Upsala, Gustavus Adolphus, Bethany, and Augustana Colleges. The freshmen entering these colleges in September 1930 were given the Otis Self-Administering Tests of Mental Ability, Higher Examination, Form A, the American Council Psychological Examination, 1930 Edition, and the Iowa High School Content Examination, Form A-1. The midyear scholarship marks made by these freshmen were compared with their scores made on these tests. From among the freshmen at Upsala whose scholarship had been reported as unsatisfactory after the first six weeks, control and experimental groups were formed equal in number and approximately so in test scores and scholarship marks. The control group was allowed to continue its program with other freshmen with no special attention during the semester. The other group was organized into a special class for supervised study periods meeting 50 minutes twice a week for approximately 10 weeks. It was found that the student's score on the American Council Psychological Examination indicates success in scholarship to a much higher degree than do scores on the other two tests.

BOOK REVIEWS

Evolution of the Common School, by EDWARD H. REISNER. New York: The Macmillan Company, 1930, 590 pages.

A history of the elementary school, from its beginnings in the medieval town to the present. Emphasis upon the relation of popular education to changes in social and economic life, and to changes in the conception of the individual and his relationship to human society. Excellent professional background for elementary teachers.

Culture and Education in America, by HAROLD RUGG. New York: Harcourt, Brace and Company, 1931, 404 pages.

A background of the progressive education movement, written in terms of the social and intellectual history of American culture, and pointing out needed steps in educational reconstruction. The author emphasizes in his preface that the volume is a statement of the educational theory underlying the social science pamphlets. Particularly recommended to all teachers using those pamphlets.

The Teacher's Relationships, by SHELDON EMMOR DAVIS. New York: The Macmillan Company, 1930, 416 pages.

An interesting discussion of the ideals and relationships which are the care of the emerging professional attitude among teachers. Every teacher would profit by the reading of this book.

Society and Education, by JOHN A. KINNEMAN. New York: The Macmillan Company, 1932, 558 pages.

A text in educational sociology, primarily designed for colleges, teachers colleges, and normal schools, emphasizing throughout the problem of curriculum construction in terms of the preparation of the individual for social participation, and constructive attack upon the problems of modern American life. Particularly good presentation of the educational implications of contemporary social problems.

Principles of American Secondary Education, by EDGAR M. DRAPER and ALEXANDER C. ROBERTS. New York: The Century Company, 1932, 549 pages.

Believing that secondary education constitutes the greatest social experiment in American life, the authors have set out to present a comprehensive picture of the secondary school in its contemporary social setting, and of its problems as its size, scope, and functions have

increased. Perhaps the best textbook on secondary education. Certainly one that should challenge the attention of every administrator and teacher.

Everyman's Book of Flying, by ORVILLE H. KNEEN. New York: Frederick A. Stokes Company, 1930, 406 pages.

The average high-school boy has now progressed so far in his knowledge of things aeronautical that he is no longer interested in a book setting forth elementary principles. For some time, he has been looking for something different in aeronautical literature, it is my impression that his desire will be satisfied with *Everyman's Book of Flying*. This book might be described as of secondary grade in the subject and yet not so technical as to prove discouraging to the boy and girl of high-school age. Encyclopedic in scope, it is, nevertheless, sufficiently in detail to give the reader an accurate knowledge of the airplane, aircraft instruments, navigation, meteorology, engines, construction details, servicing, and repairing. It contains a very thought-provoking chapter entitled "Jobs in Aviation."

The History of Physical Education in Colleges for Women, by DOROTHY S. AINSWORTH. New York: A. S. Barnes and Company, 1930, 116 pages.

Professor Dorothy S. Ainsworth of Smith College has rendered great service to the profession of physical education by her contributions to the history of physical education in colleges for women. The book contains a collection of rare photographs of physical-education activities which were taken in the latter part of the nineteenth century. This collection alone makes the book of great value. In addition to this the book contains a number of very interesting diagrams and figures. This contribution to history is really readable which is more than can be said for most histories.

Systematic Sociology, by LEOPOLD VON WIESE, adapted and amplified by HAROLD BECKER. New York: John Wiley and Sons, Inc., 1932, 772 pages.

This book represents an effort to present sociology as a science clearly differentiated from other social sciences, such as political science, economics, and history. What gives this volume its distinction is that it is a systematic attempt to present the data of sociology as it has developed in various nations. It is not merely a philosophy of society. Such an exact and discriminating presentation of sociology as a science is greatly needed and the author has done the job effectively. We predict for the book wide use as a fundamental text in sociology courses and as a supplementary text in all courses in sociology.

Problems of City Life, A Study in Urban Sociology, by MAURICE R. DAVIE. New York: John Wiley and Sons, Inc., 1932, 730 pages.

This book is a penetrating study of modern city life in all its essential aspects. The significant fact about the volume is that it, unlike most books of its kind, deals with all the human problems incident to present-day city life and is not a mere compendium of pathological conditions. The central theme of the book is the problem of adaptation to physical and human environment. It is an unusual text for classes in urban sociology and at the same time provides valuable source material for courses in education and sociology. Every teacher in urban communities ought to study this volume.

Aspects of the Social History of America, by THEODORE SIZER, ANDREW C. McLAUGHLIN, DIXON RYAN FOX, and HENRY SEIDEL CANBY. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1931, 120 pages.

This volume contains the four Mary Tuttle Bourdon lectures at Mount Holyoke College, 1930-1931. In scholarly and accurate fashion they depict social progress in Massachusetts and eastern sections of the American Commonwealth during their first three hundred years. The changes that have taken place are suggested through what has happened in American art and literature, and through contrasting reflections by reputable historians on the ways and habits of living exercised by our revolutionary forebears with that of today.

How We Inherit, by EDGAR ALTENBURG. New York: Henry Holt and Company, 1928, 273 pages.

Unlike most books written to explain the mechanism of heredity and its implications to students of education and others not engaged in special biological sciences this book is singularly free from propaganda. As a text its sole aim seems to be the clarification of the hereditary processes, and to this end the employment of the narrative form is commendable since it gives the phenomena described their natural dynamic order. The author has gone further than most writers of elementary genetics texts in describing the evidences for each major generalization. When accompanied by a series of separately published "reports" the book represents an introductory college course in genetics.

Character Building for Junior-High-School Grades, by ELVIN H. FISHBACK. New York: D. C. Heath and Company, 1930, 232 pages.

This little volume is a distinct addition to the limited literature now available for use in junior-high-school homeroom groups. Based as it is upon the episodic approach to actual problem situations, we find in it the use of a generally accepted method in character and citizenship education.

The Ninth Yearbook, The Principal and Administration.
Bulletin of the Department of Elementary School
Principals of the National Education Association of
the United States, 1930, 731 pages

To those who have been making any considerable use of the yearbooks of the Department of Elementary School Principals, it is common knowledge that the Ninth Yearbook of the Department of Elementary School Principals stands out as one of the distinctive contributions to this series. One has only to make a study of these pages to be convinced that good supervision is contingent upon and therefore must be preceded by good administration. The Ninth Yearbook is living and vital. It serves as a very practical and useful handbook for elementary-school principals, both experienced and inexperienced.

Sorcerers of Dobu, by R. F. FORTUNE. New York: E. P.
Dutton and Company, 1932, 318 pages.

Dr. Fortune's book is an anthropological study which will be found illuminatingly intelligible to sociologists. As a young representative of the functional approach to anthropology, the author has portrayed in a vivid, illustrative way the physiology of native life and outlook in the Dobuan area of Molnesia. All phenomena, natural and social, are the result of magical operations controlled by men in possession of secret formulae which pass from maternal uncle to sister's son. Hence social life is a battle of sorcerers.

The Democratic Philosophy of Education, companion to
Dewey's *Democracy and Education*, by HERMAN
HARRELL HORNE. New York: The Macmillan Com-
pany, 1932, 547 pages.

As the early mediaeval universities had their commentaries on Aristotle, there is good historic precedent for a student's *vade mecum* on Dr. John Dewey's *Democracy and Education*. Chapter by chapter a man, who is well known as a masterful university teacher, sets forth in simple, direct style the educational philosophy of the master. Valuable comment and criticism accompany the clear exposition that characterizes the volume. Having had considerable experience in using Dewey's book as a text, the reviewer is not only convinced of the timeliness of this volume but of its high quality as a commentary.

Comenius, by H. W. KEATINGE. New York: McGraw-Hill Book Company, 1931, 255 pages

In this new volume on Comenius, the author acknowledges his debt to his previous translation and treatise on Comenius's *The Great Didactic* in 1896. Students of the history of education have always found Comenius a fruitful source of many phases of contemporary education. Thus, this volume may be of timely value to those who are interested in the discovery of what this great sixteenth-century scholar was thinking about the problems of education in his day.

Educational Sociology, by DANIEL H. KULP, II. New York: Longmans, Green and Company, 1932, xvi+591 pages.

This book represents an attempt of a trained sociologist to present a scientific approach to the study of educational sociology. In this attempt the writer has presented one of the best texts for beginning classes in educational sociology that has so far appeared. We can perhaps best indicate the nature of this text by giving its main divisions, as follows: (1) education in the community, (2) elementary concepts of the sociology of education, (3) theory and data for policy-making in schools, (4) sociology: methods and history.

The Awakening Community, by MARY MIMS and GEORGIA WILLIAMS MORITZ. New York: The Macmillan Company, 1932, 273 pages.

This is the story of the way in which several hundred physically unattractive, spiritually impoverished, economically devitalized rural farming communities in Louisiana are organizing their resources and their leadership to create more wholesome and more satisfying conditions of social life. At the present time, when so much effort is being directed towards the solution of the social problems caused by factors that are disorganizing community life, this story of the *Awakening Community* is a refreshing and valuable contribution to the literature of community organization.

Social Aims in a Changing World, by WALTER G. BEACH. California: Stanford University Press, 1932, 165 pages.

The book contains a reflective and philosophical discussion of the author's observations of our changing social life. The present social situation is analyzed, concrete problems growing out of it are discussed, and the aims which should guide community and social action are pointed out.

Educational Service: Its Functions and Possibilities, by HOWARD D. LANGFORD. New York: Bureau of Publications, Teachers College, Columbia University, 1931, 202 pages.

This is a study of practices in education in terms of philosophical principles. The author is a Canadian and takes his illustrations from the Province of Ontario. The value of the book to students of education in the United States is not impaired by the source of the illustrative material. In fact, the obvious parallelism in the educational work of the countries increases interest in the analysis presented. Two tendencies in educational service are found by the author. (1) emphasis on the fulfillment of immediate life needs, and (2) emphasis on the fulfillment of uniform social requirements. The results of either of these tendencies in school work are clearly characterized. The book is stimulating and helpful. It should be widely read, especially by school administrators who are responsible for formulating educational policies.

The Management of the School Money, by HENRY C. MORRISON. Chicago. The University of Chicago Press, 1932, 522 pages.

In a time when even so vital a factor as public education in the United States must, of necessity, be subjected to strictest economy, the appearance of such a book as *The Management of the School Money* is of particular significance. The author has so organized and presented his material that not only the school official, but also the lay reader may derive a clear and comprehensive overview of the many problems involved in present-day financial administration of schools, and an insight into the soundest procedure towards their ultimate solution. The book is not one of accounting devices. These have their places. The administrator must deal with financial policies, and the principles underlying sound policy making are set forth clearly in the text.

America's Story as Told in Postage Stamps, by EDWARD MONINGTON ALLEN. New York: McGraw-Hill Book Company, 1930, viii+167 pages.

The author, the headmaster of the Mohegan School for boys, recognizing the potency of the collecting instinct in boys and girls of grammar-school age, has provided them with a new type of stamp album which "will help to a better understanding of our nation's history." Realizing that "the zeal for possession may crowd out the true meaning which the postage stamp has to convey," he has sought to direct attention to these bits of colored paper as so many "miniature symbols which recall the tremendous events which shaped our destinies and the remarkable personalities who labored that America might grow."

The Mastery of Sex Through Psychology and Religion, by LESLIE D. WEATHERHEAD. New York: The Macmillan Company, 1932, 246 pages.

Here is a text in which important information regarding the subject is presented in a straightforward way. The author's contribution is well buttressed by important forewords from Dr. Herbert Gray and Dr. J. R. Rees. The book is perhaps as good as any in its field.

BOOKS RECEIVED

- Activity Movement*, by Hissong. Baltimore. Warwick and York.
Adjusting the School to the Child, by Washburne. Yonkers-on-Hudson, New York: World Book Company.
Anger in Young Children, by Goodenough. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press.
Behind the Scenes With Ourselves, by Ramus. New York: The Century Company.
Concepts of Sociology, by Eubank. Boston: D. C. Heath and Company.
Crime, Criminals and Criminal Justice, by Cantor. New York: Henry Holt and Company.
Criminal, Judge and the Public, by Alexander and Staub. New York: The Macmillan Company.
Delinquent Child. Publication of the White House Conference on Child Health and Protection. New York: The Century Company.
Diagnosing Personality and Conduct, by Symonds. New York: The Century Company.
Education for Home and Family Life. Publication of the White House Conference on Child Health and Protection. New York: The Century Company.
Education in Hungary, by Kornis. New York: Bureau of Publications, Teachers College, Columbia University.
Educational Crisis in Sweden in the Light of American Experience, by Bogoslovsky. New York: Columbia University Press.
Educational Experiments in Industry, by Pepper. New York: The Macmillan Company.
Financial and Social Success in Welfare Plans. Kansas City: Intercollegiate Press.
French Liberalism and Education in the Eighteenth Century, by La Fontainerie. New York: McGraw-Hill Book Company, Inc.
Guidance in Secondary Schools, by Koos and Kefauver. New York: The Macmillan Company.
Human Sterilization, by Landman. New York: The Macmillan Company.
I Was a Stutterer, Stories from Life. New York: Grafton Press.
Inglis Lecture, 1932, by Learned. Cambridge: Harvard University Press.

- Interpretations of Physical Education*, edited by Nash. New York: A S Barnes and Company.
- Interrelations in the Behavior of Young Children*, by Arrington. New York: Bureau of Publications, Teachers College, Columbia University.
- John Dewey, Educator*, by Wallenrod. Paris: Jouve and Cie, editeurs.
- Juvenile Delinquency*, by Reckless and Smith. New York: McGraw-Hill Book Company, Inc.
- Laws of Human Nature*, by Wheeler. New York: D Appleton and Company.
- Man and Technique*, by Spengler. New York: Alfred A Knopf.
- Medical Value of Psychoanalysis*, by Alexander. New York: W W. Norton and Company, Inc.
- My Parents—Friends or Enemies*, by Payne. New York: Brewer, Warren and Putnam, Inc.
- Nutrition*. Growth and Development of the Child, Part III. Publication of the White House Conference on Child Health and Protection. New York: The Century Company.
- Organization and Activities of the National Education Association*, by Selle. New York: Bureau of Publications, Teachers College, Columbia University.
- Organization for the Care of Handicapped Children*. Publication of the White House Conference on Child Health and Protection. New York: The Century Company.
- Parent Education*. Publication of the White House Conference on Child Health and Protection. New York: The Century Company.
- Pilgrims of Russian-Town*, by Young. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press.
- Play Behavior and Choice of Play Materials of Preschool Children*, by Van Alstyne. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press.
- Principles of Health Education*, by Turner. Boston: D. C Heath and Company.
- Principles of Social Legislation*, by Callcott. New York: The Macmillan Company.
- Prognostic Value of Certain Factors Related to Teaching Success*, by Ullman. Ashland, Ohio: A. L Garber Company.
- Public Health Organization*. Publication of the White House Conference on Child Health and Protection. New York: The Century Company.
- Pupil Adjustment in the Modern School*, by Flemming. New York: Bureau of Publications, Teachers College, Columbia University.
- Readings in Citizenship*, by Jones and Vandenbosch. New York: The Macmillan Company.
- Remakers of Mankind*, by Washburne. New York: The John Day Company.

- Rural Community*, by Sanderson Boston: Ginn and Company
- Safety Education in Schools*. Publication of White House Conference on Child Health and Protection. New York: The Century Company
- Schizophrenia*, by Lundholm Durham, North Carolina: Duke University Press.
- School Health Program* Publication of White House Conference on Child Health and Protection. New York: The Century Company.
- Sexual Side of Marriage*, by Exner New York: W. W. Norton and Company, Inc.
- Social Hygiene in Schools* Publication of White House Conference on Child Health and Protection. New York: The Century Company
- Social Pathology*, by Mangold New York: The Macmillan Company
- Some Aspects of the Social Sciences in the Schools* 1931. Yearbook of the National Council for Social Studies. Philadelphia: McKimley Publishing Company
- Student Self-Support at the University of Minnesota*, by Umstadtd. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press.
- Teacher Supply and Demand in Ohio, 1929-1930*, by Anderson and Foster. Columbus: Ohio State University Press.
- Tests and Measurements*, by Palmer. New York: A. S. Barnes and Company.
- The Child and Play*, by Rogers. New York: The Century Company.
- Twenty-five Years*, edited by Doll. Vineland. Training School at Vineland, New Jersey.
- Use and Interpretation of Educational Tests*, by Greene and Jorgenson New York: Longmans, Green and Company.
- Vocational Guidance* Publication of the White House Conference on Child Health and Protection. New York: The Century Company
- Wholesome Personality*, by Burnham. New York: D. Appleton and Company.
- Young Lonigan*, by Farrell. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press

NEWS FROM THE FIELD

The next annual meeting of the American Sociological Society will be held at Cincinnati, Ohio, during the Christmas holiday season.

Dr Charles C Peters of Pennsylvania State College is chairman of the section on educational sociology of the American Sociological Society.

Dr. David Kulp, II, professor of educational sociology at Teachers College, Columbia University, has returned to his work after spending his sabbatical leave in the Orient

Mr. Austin Coulson, deputy superintendent of the Albany, New York, public schools, has been elected to the office of superintendent of schools to succeed Dr. C Edward Jones who retired at the end of the past school year

Dr. A. T Stanforth, professor of educational psychology of the Pennsylvania State College for Women, Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania, has been elected principal of the Sewanhaka High School at Floral Park, New York, and Miss Olive Bucks has been elected dean of girls in the same institution.

Dr W A Gore, who for the past several years was director of the Bureau of Appointments of the School of Education of New York University, has been elected superintendent of schools at Hempstead, New York

Mr T. P. Calkins, superintendent of schools at Hempstead, New York, retired and is now director of the Bureau of Appointments of the School of Education of New York University.

Mr Francis J Brown, formerly of the education department, Rochester University, received his Ph.D. degree in the School of Education of New York University in June and has now been appointed assistant professor of education in the department of educational sociology of New York University.

Mr. Harvey A Wright has been selected as professor of mathematics at Transylvania University at Lexington, Kentucky

Mr Edmund Tink has been elected superintendent of schools at Kearny, New Jersey.

Mr John Wilcox has been chosen as superintendent of schools at Hackensack to succeed the late Dr W A Smith

The Journal of Higher Education is published to serve as a professional journal for the sixty-seven thousand teachers and officers of the colleges and universities in the United States Dr W. W. Charters of Ohio State University is the editor This publication is in its fourth year. The address is Bureau of Educational Research, Ohio State University, Columbus, Ohio

The New England Institute of International Relations held a ten-day session during the summer at Wellesley College The purpose of this organization is the promotion of world peace.

Dr. Joseph Rosier, president of the State Teachers College at Fairmount, is the new president of the National Education Association

Dr. Milton C. Potter, superintendent of schools of Milwaukee, is the president of the Department of Superintendence of the National Education Association

Dr. Stuart A. Rice, professor of sociology at the University of Pennsylvania, has joined a similar department at the University of Chicago.

CONTRIBUTORS' PAGE

Dr. Walfred A. Anderson received his B.S. degree in 1921 and his M.S. degree in 1922 from Iowa State College and a Ph.D. degree in 1929 from Cornell University. From 1930 to 1931 he was a member of the Fact-Finding Staff of the Institute of Social and Religious Research, studying the social and economic organization of rural China, and from 1931 to the present time assistant professor of rural social organization at Cornell University. Dr. Anderson is the author of several bulletins of the North Carolina Experiment Station on the standards of living of farm people in Wake County, North Carolina

Dr. John Oscar Creager received his A.B. degree in 1897 and his A.M. degree in 1899 from Yale University and a Ph.D. degree in 1926 from New York University. He was president of Lebanon University, Ohio, from 1901 to 1908, president of State Normal School and professor of education in University of Wyoming from 1910 to 1912, dean of College of Education, University of Wyoming, from 1912 to 1917; State Commissioner of Education, Wyoming, from 1917 to 1919, president of State Normal School, Flagstaff, Arizona, from 1919 to 1920, dean of College of Education, University of Arizona, from 1920 to 1926, and professor of education in New York University since 1926

Mr. Walter A. Lunden received his A.B. degree from Gustavus Adolphus College, his B.D. degree from Northwestern Divinity School, his A.M. degree from the University of Minnesota, and is a candidate for a Ph.D. degree at Harvard University. He is engaged in making a study of "The Distribution and Mobility of the Faculty in the University of Pittsburgh, 1900-1931."

Dr. William Withers received the bachelor's, master's, and doctor's degrees from Columbia University. Dr. Withers has recently collaborated with Dr. Harold F. Clark in a study of the relations of education to the supply of labor, and during the past year has organized an Educational Economics Association composed of high-school and college teachers of economics in New York City. His fields of major interest are public finance and the relations between education and economics. Dr. Withers is the author of *The Retirement of National Debts* which will be published this fall.

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EDITORIAL

THE JOURNAL OF EDUCATIONAL SOCIOLOGY has entered well upon its sixth year but, as has already been announced, under new management. The department of educational sociology, of the School of Education of New York University, has assumed full responsibility for the management as well as the editorial policy. Therefore the entire responsibility for THE JOURNAL lies in our hands. We shall thus welcome criticism and suggestions at all times. If you like THE JOURNAL, tell us about it and if, on the other hand, you feel that we can make a better JOURNAL we shall be just as glad to hear from you.

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We shall be particularly interested to hear from our readers about our policy of presenting special numbers. During the coming year, in addition to the September number devoted to the Boys' Club Study and the October number dealing with College Education, there will be others on the Motion Picture and Education, Special Education, Juvenile Delinquency and Education, and Educational Psychology versus Educational Sociology. We shall be interested to know whether you like the special numbers better than the regular issues.

Since we now control THE JOURNAL in its entirety we have the freedom we have not had before to make THE JOURNAL what we would like. In September 1927 we wrote:

In venturing upon a new enterprise, and especially in the publication of a new journal for educators, it is important to make sure that such an enterprise will be worth the effort of those who are committing themselves to it and worth the time of its contemplated readers. With the numerous journals available it is highly pertinent to examine meticulously the field to ascertain whether a new journal is necessary. Nothing short of necessity warrants the publication of a new magazine devoted to the theory and practice of education. Is there such warrant for THE JOURNAL OF EDUCATIONAL SOCIOLOGY?

At that time we answered this question in the affirmative and gave as our reason that, while there are a number of magazines that accept articles devoted to sociology in its application to education, no one magazine is devoted exclusively to that field. We asserted that the sociological aspect of education cannot be properly represented without the emphasis that will come from a journal devoted to educational sociology. The five years of our experience have confirmed us in our judgment, and we are now entering upon a new period with the hope of retaining the friends who have cooperated with us in the enterprise as it has developed so far and with the hope of making many new friends in the future.

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"Related and Subsidiary Studies" on page 173 is an important part of the Boys' Club Study (*see* the September 1932 number). It was omitted from that number for lack of space.

THE PUBLIC SCHOOLS AND THE PROBLEM OF CRIME PREVENTION

NATHAN PEYSER

Education is the process of effecting changes in human behavior. Changes result from but one phenomenon, from the reaction of the individual to stimuli in his environment. All that the teacher, parent, and minister can do is arrange situations, so as to induce suitable responses and thus develop desirable patterns of behavior. Good behavior is wholesome, satisfactory adjustment, socially approved interaction of the human organism and its environment; delinquent conduct is defective adjustment, psychologically similar in its causation to acceptable behavior.

The development of human conduct is complicated beyond the possibility of precise analysis, external stimuli are multiple in kind and infinite in number, while internal organic and psychological factors are oftentimes intricately interassociated and unpredictably variable in nature. Consequently, we cannot set up a single formula descriptive of the process. We cannot hope to reach a single explanation for any species of behavior aberration or to set up a corrective formula that will inevitably solve any problem at hand.

Misconduct is one of the overt expressions of personal maladjustment. Seen from its broadest angle the problem of crime prevention is the problem of education. At the outset, however, it must be recognized that the school is but one of the many situations confronting the child in the course of his growth. The home, the street, the theater, the movie house, the newspaper, the church, and the library—all play their parts in shaping his attitudes, molding his habits, fashioning his ideals, and forming his interests and appreciations. In fact, from both the standpoints of lateness of school admission, and the small

amount of time spent by the child in school, the latter institution is in a position not at all advantageous with respect to character and personality development. Dean Withers has told us that less than 7 per cent of the total time at the disposal of the child is spent in school under the eye of the teacher. Often the efforts of the teacher are rendered futile because of the more protracted conditioning of an unfortunate home environment or of a vicious out-of-school companionship.

The school does not receive the child initially until he is five, six, or seven years of age. Every psychiatrist, regardless of the school to which he may belong, will attest the supreme importance of the first five or six years of the child's life in determining his attitudes, repressions, and conflicts, which often prove to be the root causes and impulsions of future misconduct. Freud says, "Educators must transfer the main emphasis in education to the earliest years of childhood. The little human being is frequently a finished product in his fourth or fifth year and only gradually reveals in later years what lies buried in him." The responsibility for infantile inhibitions and compulsions, for early conditioned attitudes and responses, cannot be placed at the door of the school.

Nevertheless, the school, as the only agency consciously and deliberately organized by the State for the education of its citizenship, must assume its share of the social obligation for the proper moral development of the young. From the practical standpoint these questions immediately arise: What can the school do to mold the characters of its children? What activities shall it introduce to realize its objectives? What attitudes shall it adopt? What procedures shall it follow? What practices shall it avoid as prejudicial to the well-being of its pupils? What can the teachers and supervisors do to safeguard the personalities of the children from the internal maladjustments that find their manifestation in neuroses, psychoses, and delinquencies?

It would be of no value whatsoever to attempt to indicate specific activities that should be introduced or to suggest particular devices to accomplish these purposes. All that should be recommended are general objectives and procedures that must find specific, concrete expression in terms of the special problems of each school and of the particular circumstances in each case.

Teachers must first of all become highly conscious of their obligations with reference to the spiritual life of the child. Character building should not be relegated to a subordinate position nor regarded as an accidental factor in the school program. The attention of the teachers must be fixated, not upon subjects, subject matter, and scholastic results, but rather upon children as human beings, upon their health, their happiness, their developing personalities, and their problems of adjustment to life, to reality. Teachers must set up as conscious goals the conservation of the social and personal integrity of their children. Crime and other forms of maladjustment are often escape and substitute mechanisms, compensations for inferiority conflicts, they are expressions of emotional instabilities, symptoms of loss of psychic integrity. Teachers must inspire confidence and engender courage. Nothing more promising has entered into contemporary educational philosophy than the concept of mental health and its relationship to learning and conduct. Our newly established Bureau of Child Guidance is doing a splendid work in launching a program of teacher education in this regard.

Teachers and supervisors must not restrict their vision to what happens within the walls of the classroom or of the school building. They must concern themselves with the entire life of the child in the home, in the street, in the playground, and in the classroom. They must regard as a vital test of the efficiency of the so-called disciplinary activities of the school the carry-over into life outside of the habits, attitudes, emotions, and ideals they are seeking to engender.

The school should set up a character-building program that will be positive, constructive, and dynamic. Passivity, immobility, and acquiescence must not be the sole desiderata. These qualities, raised by teachers into positions of prominence in the eyes of students of human personality, appear as traits that are least desirable. Character building must not be left to chance. It must not be conceived in negative fashion, as a program of inhibitions and restraints. It must not be formalized or reduced to a pattern of words relating to good sentiments and virtuous ideas. It must not be isolated from the remainder of the school program, nor from the daily life of the child. Every element of school routine, atmosphere, and activity must be integrated into the general program in which superintendent, principal, teachers, parents, and children cooperate.

Such a program must be predicated upon the postulation of definite goals—habits, attitudes, interests, and ideals. Supervisors and teachers must comprehend the psychology of character formation. They should understand the factors that enter into the causation of normal personality and those that lead to conflict and maladjustment. They must appreciate the importance of wholesome school environment; for example, of understanding and sympathy, of habit formation, of success and accomplishment, in the development of patterns of individual growth. Self-control and inner control should be seen as the final objective, and disciplinary procedures should be so fashioned that external control will gradually be translated into inner control through a progressively increasing assumption by the pupils of responsibility for deliberation, choice, and behavior in school and out-of-school situations.

The importance of our health and recreative programs cannot be stressed too strongly. Case studies of delinquents reveal a relationship between physical soundness and well-being and normal social adjustments. Ill-health, debility, organic defect, and organic malfunctioning give rise to

irritability, discouragement, feelings of inferiority, fear, resentment, and what may be called "volitional flabbiness." Undoubtedly there is a causal relationship between endocrinological functioning and individual behavior. Everything that is done by the school to discover defects and deficiencies to secure treatment and correction, to safeguard well-being, and to promote health habits and ideals will inevitably reflect itself into an improved outlook on life and superior adjustment to environment.

Men and women rarely go wrong in their busy, working hours. It is in their unemployed, free, and leisure periods that they commit mischief and crime. Idleness is the "devil's workshop." A study of the records of the inmates of any correctional institution for adults will reveal the frequency with which crime is associated with unemployment and even more dramatically with unemployability. Surveys of juvenile delinquents reveal a similar situation, the high degree of correlation between misbehavior and truancy, idleness, misdirected play, desire for adventure, and vagrancy. The school can perform invaluable service by extending its program of vocational guidance, training, and placement; by the development of wholesome leisure interests and activities—physical, athletic, musical, aesthetic, literary, and social.

Most criminals have been school failures. Failure stands out strongly in the lives of the maladjusted. We must protect our children by diagnosing their needs more efficiently; by classifying them properly, by adjusting curricula, class organization, and methodology to their particular needs, interests, and abilities; by enlisting their interests; and by individualizing instruction. In each case, we must discover activities in which the child can be successful. We must treat each pupil on his own level, starting from where he is and leading him upward by suitable stages along the road of successful achievement. Success engenders interest and confidence, and leads to further success. Failure begets loss of interest, inferiority feel-

ing, further failure, and ultimately escape or compensation in forms individually objectionable and socially undesirable.

A perusal of the numerous studies that have been made of the causation of crime makes one fact stand out in bold relief—the fact of multiple determination. Delinquency springs from a wide variety and usually from a multiplicity of alternative and converging influences. Most of these causes are so subtle and insidious that it is well-nigh impossible to trace their source or their paths of influence upon the victim. At times the provocative factors seem to stand out clearly; at other times the condition is so subtle that the offensive act seems gratuitous and incomprehensible. One investigator has traced more than 170 distinct conditions, every one of which he maintains is conducive to misconduct.

It is evident, however, that in any given case amid this tangle of accessory factors, some single circumstance—social, intellectual, emotional, or physical—stands out as the most prominent or the most influential

Examination of the records of the inmates of our penal institutions in numerous cases, perhaps a majority, reveals a history, if not of juvenile delinquency, at least of pathological acts or conditions that might have been taken as premonitions, as warning signs of impending trouble. Deteriorating home conditions, unfortunate companionships, temperamental disturbances, morbid emotional conditions, truancy, misbehavior, vagrancy, intellectual disabilities, detrimental interests, defective family relations, to varying degrees and in different combinations, are manifest. These, when viewed in retrospect, may be regarded as the causative agents, and when seen in prospect, may be considered as threatening determiners of future maladjustment.

In every school organization appear the perverse, the neurotic, the defective, the truant, the juvenile delinquent, the disorderly, the eccentric, the undependable, and the victims of unfortunate and degraded home and family relationships. Not every member of this group will become

a criminal later, nor will every member of the so-called normal group develop into a good, moral member of society. We must not see pathology in every individual aberration nor human disaster in every social variation. Nevertheless, these conditions are potential factors in delinquency causation. Often their occurrence is so acute that they may be envisaged as the inevitable forerunners of aggravated forms of later disorder. Here the school can function quite effectively. Teacher and supervisor should be on the alert for the appearance of these anticipatory conditions. They should be in close enough touch with the home and with the outside life of the child to gain sufficient data as a basis for further action. A tentative diagnosis should be made and measures should be taken to secure adjustment of deteriorating factors. Adequate adjustment should be made within the school in terms of grade and group reclassification, course of study modification, changes in method of teaching, and teacher-pupil relationship. Some one in the school or in touch with the school should be ready to assume the function of big brother or sister, or of father or mother surrogate, to give to that boy the understanding, the sympathy, the guidance, the oversight, and the help that he requires. A careful case study of the child should be made. He should be given a mental, physical, psychiatric, and environmental examination. The cooperation of the Bureau of Child Guidance, of the department of ungraded classes, and of outside agencies should be secured. Additional ungraded classes for the segregation and specialized education of the mental defective and the borderline cases should be established so that all of the children of this type may be cared for. All this must reflect itself into the home. Every effort must be made to enlist the understanding and the cooperation of the parent or of a parent substitute in the form of brother, sister, cousin, uncle, neighbor, or interested citizen, in the adjustment of the child. The recreational activities of the delinquent must be supervised

Here and there experiments have been made by individual school supervisors aiming at the integration of the resources of a community—educational, recreational, religious, philanthropic, medical, psychological, social, and moral—so as to bring about organized community action upon its own problems. In some cases, the schools making up the local community have united in this effort, have developed a corps of social-welfare workers and a number of new community agencies, such as a local preventive children's court, a big-brother and sister organization, additional playground facilities, instrumentalities for checking up local neighborhood conditions, and parent-guidance groups. The united schools have become the nucleus of social integration and have taken the initiative in developing a community consciousness and in organizing activities for the protection of the young.

There is no problem confronting the school that is of greater importance than this. The problem of crime prevention cannot be separated from the problem of preventing any other form of individual and social maladjustment. The school is the only agency of society that comes into contact with all of the children; it has the confidence of all persons; it can secure the coöperation of all agencies, public and private; it reaches into all homes through its most emotionalized factor, the child. It can become the most potent force, not only for the teaching of subject matter, but, next to the home, for the conservation of the integrity of childhood and the protection of society.

CREATIVE GENIUS OF THE SOVIETS' CHILDREN

P. JU. VOLOBNER

The creative powers of children became long since the object of special attention and particular study on the part of pedagogues, pedologists, and children's psychologists. For the characteristics of the baby and his development, and the study of the child's interests, the creative works of children appear to be a main source and fountain which must not be ignored. If such is the value of the creative genius of children for pedagogues and pedologists of capitalistic countries, it carries a much greater weight and significance for the pedagogue of the land of the Soviets, the land of socialism, the country where the liquidation of the remnants, scraps, and leftovers of the old life, and the development of the new socialistic economic, industrial, and productional relationship grows a new person, an individual of a new formation, of a new type. To study the creative genius of the Soviet baby, to compare it with the creative genius of the baby of the capitalistic countries, to expose the specific singularities of the former means, to a great extent, to come near to the understanding of the peculiarities and singularities of development of the child of the land of socialism in construction. And that is why at the present time in Russia (and especially is it true for the Ukraine) there is going on a thorough and complete study of children's creative powers, a study to which are drawn the best scientific forces of the country and in which many pedagogical circles participate

All children's creative work could be classified as follows:

1. Technical creative work
2. Creative work—in plastics, music, and literature
3. Creative work in the field of social life, the pedagogical study work.

From the point of view of the Soviet pedologist-pedagogue, the technical creative work of children and the work of children in the field of social life, the pedagogical study work, are of special interest. In these domains of knowledge the specificum of a child living in the land of the Soviets is shown with the utmost clarity. The tremendous upheaval of social character, typified in the land of the Soviets, the struggle for mastering the highest level of techniques, the fight for the industrialization of the country, polytechnization of the whole system of popular education from the lowest to the highest ranks—all these become the fundamental premise of the growth and development of children's technical creative genius and become the basic stimulus of the premise.

The technical creative works of children are creative works in which is reflected an interest in the most modern technique, the striving to grasp and master it. And it is more and more apparent that in the technical creative work of children the objects of the primitive, backward technique, which so widely prevailed before the Revolution, disappear. It is more and more apparent, even from the youngest age, that the child of the Soviets starts to focus his thoughts upon modern technique, upon modern construction. But this, it seems, does not definitely indicate as yet the specificum of the creative genius of the Soviet child. The specificum begins where the most modern technique, such as the object of striving, aspiration, and rendering, begins to unite itself with socialistic tendencies and trends, along the purposes and aim of the period of reconstruction. The technique not per se, not for itself, but the technique aiming at the battle for the new socialistic order of society, for the fulfillment of the task of *Piatilietka*—the Five-Year Plan—this feature is certainly most characteristic of children living in the land of the Soviets, in the country where all the capitalistic elements are being definitely eradicated, not only in the field of economics but in the psychics of human beings as well. Inventions directed

to rationalize socialistic production, developed for the betterment of conditions and quality of work, for the increase of it in the interests of the laboring class—this is the general line and trend of the technical creative work of children.

The same thing must also be said regarding the creative work of Soviet children in the social field, the pedagogical study work. The drawing in of millions of workers in direct contact with the social-political life of the country, put into practice by the whole policy of the Communist Party and by the power of the Soviets, gave birth to the wide activization of the entire laboring population of the land of the Soviets, and became a great stimulus for creative work in the field of social activities. Millions of workers' suggestions definitely directed towards the improvement of industrial processes, the betterment of conditions of labor and activities of work, industrial consultations in which take part the entire collective of the enterprise or institution, promotion of contre-plans-programs of tasks for improvements and the overfulfillment of the given tasks of production—these are the broad lines of the activization of the laboring masses. All this only testifies to the fact that work becomes in the land of the Soviets "a matter of honor, valor, and heroism"—becomes a real happy, creative labor. This creative characteristic of work also shows itself very clearly in the life of Soviet children, in their social and study-educational activities. Children of the Soviet School are not simply "objects"—they are also "subjects" of study-educational work. They are not only passively accepting the pedagogical process but actively take a part in the rationalization of the process itself and in its construction.

In the historic decision of the Central Committee of the Communist Party, "the elementary and the middle school," the fight for conscious self-discipline among children, *i e*, the fight for drawing the children into active, creative work in the school, this fight is emphasized as one of the most

essential problems of educational work at the present time.

In the analysis and study of children's creative genius, special attention should be given to their graphic, musical, and literary genius. Here again we have the specific singularities so characteristic in the Soviet child. These singularities manifest themselves first of all in the tenor and thematics, in the social tendencies of children's drawings, and in their musical and literary works. "Socialism in Construction" is the main trend of the thematics of Soviet children, together with "Class Struggle" and the "Fight for the Five-Year Plan." This is clearly indicated even in the drawings of the youngest children. And the same is seen with even greater clarity and strength in the drawing of children of an older age.

If we regard that the child shows himself in his creative work, particularly is this true in the fields of graphics, literature, and music. It is easily seen that the Soviet child expresses himself as an enthusiast in the socialistic reconstruction of the country. The child is absorbed by the processes of this reconstruction, and from them he gets his images, his colors, and his thematics. The Soviet child in his creations is wholly of the socialistic construction, is fully in it. That is why the Soviet pedagogic studies and analyzes with such attention the creative works of children. In these works the Soviet pedagogue finds what is so necessary for his work; he finds the characteristics of the child of our days, the days of socialistic construction. And this child most certainly shows itself to be the real child of socialism.

EXTRACURRICULAR ACTIVITIES AND ACADEMIC ACHIEVEMENT

O. MYKING MEHUS

One of the objections made against extracurricular activities is that the student who is actively engaged in many activities makes low grades in his regular academic subjects. This objection will be considered in this article in the light of objective data.

The data used in this article were gathered in a study the writer made of the extracurricular activities of the students at the University of Minnesota in 1924-1925 and at Wittenberg College, Springfield, Ohio, in 1927-1928. The scope of these investigations was described in a recent article in *School and Society*.¹

A total of 962 students were enrolled at Wittenberg College. Of this number 95.8 per cent filled out questionnaires in which they indicated the extracurricular activities in which they participated. These questionnaires were carefully checked by the writer for omissions or errors. The scholarship quotients² and intelligence scores³ were secured from the registrar's office.

Table I gives the distribution of the scholarship quotient and the intelligence score of the students at Wittenberg College for the first semester of 1927-1928 distributed according to the number of extracurricular activities in which they participated. The students are divided into three groups—those who participated in no campus activities, those who participated in two or three campus activities, and those who participated in five or more campus

¹O. Myking Mehus, "Extra-Curricular Activities of College Students," *School and Society*, XXXV, April 23, 1932, 574-76.

²"Scholarship quotient" is the term used to designate the quotient which is secured by dividing the number of quality points by the number of credit hours. Each credit hour of "A" equals 4 quality points, each credit hour of "B" equals 3 quality points, each credit hour of "C" equals 2 quality points, and each credit hour of "D" equals 1 quality point.

³The intelligence score is secured by the following intelligence tests, given in the years designated: 1924, Morgan's test (1927-28 seniors), 1925 and 1926, Thurston's test (1927-28 juniors and sophomores), 1927, Ohio State University, Number 12 test (1927-28 freshmen).

activities These groups are divided into men and women and into the four college classes.

TABLE I
DISTRIBUTION OF SCHOLARSHIP QUOTIENT AND INTELLIGENCE SCORE OF STUDENTS AT
WITENBERG COLLEGE ACCORDING TO NUMBER OF ACTIVITIES IN WHICH THEY
PARTICIPATED

MEN

	Inactive Group— No Activity		Median Group— 2-3 Activities		Most Active Group— 5 or more Activities	
	Number of Students	Median Scholar- ship Quotient	Number of Students	Median Scholar- ship Quotient	Number of Students	Median Scholar- ship Quotient
1 Freshman	37	2 00	87	2 11	1	3 06
2 Sophomore	26	1 93	69	2 14	6	3 41
3 Junior	3	2 59	63	2 12	18	2 89
4 Senior	8	2 41	21	2 59	10	2 50
5 Special	9	3 06	4	2 28		
6 Total	83	1 96	234	2 12	35	2 67
	Number of Students	Median Intelli- gence Score	Number of Students	Median Intelli- gence Score	Number of Students	Median Intelli- gence Score
7 Freshman	36	154	85	159	1	306
8 Sophomore	22	116	67	110	6	161
9 Junior	3	196	37	101	17	166
10 Senior	4	111	7	126	5	124
11 Special						

WOMEN

	Inactive Group— No Activity		Median Group— 2-3 Activities		Most Active Group— 5 or more Activities	
	Number of Students	Median Scholar- ship Quotient	Number of Students	Median Scholar- ship Quotient	Number of Students	Median Scholar- ship Quotient
1 Freshman	52	2 25	60	2 66	5	2 87
2 Sophomore	7	3 20	64	2 81	11	2 93
3 Junior	3	2 94	18	2 53	7	2 82
4 Senior	6	2 81	18	2 64	17	3 12
5 Special	1	3 71	2	2 30		
6 Total	69	2 25	162	2 65	40	2 91
	Number of Students	Median Intelli- gence Score	Number of Students	Median Intelli- gence Score	Number of Students	Median Intelli- gence Score
7 Freshman	45	158	55	173	5	199
8 Sophomore	4	82	62	125	10	96
9 Junior	2	137	17	134	6	144
10 Senior	1	86	3	91	1	91
11 Special						

The median scholarship quotient for the total number of students in each of the three categories of activities shows that the men who participated in no campus activity have a median scholarship quotient of 1.96, while the men in two and three activities have a median of 2.12, and the group in five or more activities has a median scholarship quotient of 2.67. This same tendency is found among the women—those in no campus activity have a median scholarship quotient of 2.25; those in two or three campus activities have a median of 2.65; while those in five or more campus activities have a median scholarship quotient of 2.91.

This indicates that the students who are the most active in campus activities are the students who tend to receive the highest grades in academic subjects, while those who participate in no campus activity tend to receive the lowest grades.

The freshman and sophomore men and the freshman women show this same tendency, while the junior and senior men and the senior women show a lower scholarship quotient for the students in no campus activity than for those in five or more activities, but the junior men and senior women have a lower scholarship quotient for those in two or three activities than for those in no campus activity. So far as the junior men are concerned, this may be explained by the fact that the junior men in two or three campus activities have a much lower intelligence score than those in no campus activities. The figures for the intelligence scores for the senior men and women are not complete, so no such explanation can be given. Another factor is that the absolute number in no activity is very small—three junior men, eight senior men, and six senior women.

The sophomore and junior women show the highest scholarship quotient among the women who participate in no campus activity, but here too the absolute numbers are small—seven sophomore women and three junior women. The sophomore and junior women who participate in five

or more activities have a higher scholarship quotient than those who participate in two or three activities.

As indicated above, these figures seem to show that intensive participation in extracurricular activities does not necessarily mean low scholarship for the participants.

Ignoring all the medians which are computed on only five or less students it is found that in every class, except among the sophomore women, the more active students have a higher intelligence score than the less active students (Table I). This suggests that possibly extracurricular activities are a means whereby those of higher mentality expend some of their surplus mental energy

A study of a sample group of 321 students at the University of Minnesota reveals the same tendency as is shown in the above facts. A group of 150 women and 171 men were divided into three groups—no activities, two or three activities, and five or more activities. These were divided quite evenly among the three upper classes.

A summary of the average and median honor-point ratio of these groups shows that there is a consistent rise in average honor-point ratio from the inactive group to the most active group for both men and women.

Since there were practically no freshmen in the above groups, another group of 200 freshmen was selected. The tabulation for this group shows the same tendency as was found above; namely, that the active groups show a higher honor-point ratio than the inactive group.

Because there is no satisfactory way of testing the degree to which these sample groups of 321 upperclassmen and 200 freshmen represent the whole student body, generalizations must be left to the reader, except to point out that these data do not support the opinion that students who engage in many extracurricular activities do so at the expense of academic achievement

A study made at Purdue University for the year 1914-1915 in regard to scholarship and extracurricular activity brought out the fact that students carrying a heavy sched-

ule of outside activities may stand excellently in their studies or they may fall behind.⁴ It is all a question of the student himself

A study of the relation between participation in extracurricular activities and scholarship in the high schools of Kansas City, Missouri, showed that, on the whole, high-school pupils of somewhat more than average intelligence participate in extracurricular activities and that such participation does not significantly affect their scholastic standing.⁵ This study involved 398 high-school students and is a careful piece of work that was presented as a master's thesis at the University of Kansas.

This same tendency was found in a study of extracurricular activities of 1,954 students at the University of California for the year 1925-1926.⁶ This study showed that the average grade of all the men students was 1.21, but that the average grade for the men students who participated most intensively in extracurricular activities was 1.44.

In order to determine what relationship exists between participation in extracurricular activities and failure in class work, a special study was made of the students in the College of Science, Literature, and the Arts who were placed on probation at the University of Minnesota at the end of the winter quarter of 1924-1925 because of low scholarship. A total of 250 students was in this group. Of this number 85, or about one third, filled out the student questionnaire used in this study.

In comparing the participation of probation students in campus activities with the participation for the entire student body, it is found that there is practically no difference between the percentage of probation students that are found in the different number of activities, as none, one, two, etc., and the percentages for the different classes of the

⁴C. H. Benjamin, "Student Activities," *School and Society*, III, February 12, 1916, 231-34.

⁵A. M. Swanson, "The Effect on High School Scholarship of Pupil Participation in Extracurricular Activities," *The School Review*, XXXII, October, 1924, 613-26.

⁶Earl J. Miller, "A Statistical Study of the Relationship Between Extra Curricular Activities and Scholarship," *Athletic Journal*, VII, May, 1927, 34-44.

entire student body in the corresponding number of activities. This seems to indicate that participation in student activities is not a significant factor in failure to do good classroom work.

The 85 probation students are distributed as follows: freshman men, 50; sophomore men, 14; freshman women, 19; sophomore and junior women, one each. Out of a total of 69 freshman men and women on probation, the intelligence score (percentile rank) was found for 52. The median score is 29 for the men and 24.5 for the women; the twenty-fifth percentile is 10 for the men and 5 for the women; and the seventy-fifth percentile is 47 for the men and 42 for the women. The intelligence score in percentile ranks for the total freshman class of 1,079 men and women entering the arts college of the University of Minnesota for the first time, without advanced standing, in September 1924 shows that in every case the percentile score for the freshman class as a whole is far above that of the 52 students on probation. The twenty-fifth percentiles are over twice as large for the freshman class as for the probation students, while the median and seventy-fifth percentile are nearly twice as great for the whole class as compared with the probation students.

The above facts suggest that freshmen fail in their classroom work because of low intelligence rather than because of excessive participation in extracurricular activities.

That participation in extracurricular activities is not an important cause of deficient scholarship was also brought out in the study of 1,954 men students at the University of Southern California.⁷ This study showed that a total of 335 students were placed on probation in 1925-1926. Out of 540 students in activities, 94 or 17 per cent were on probation, while of the 1,414 students not in activities, 241 or 18 per cent were on probation. Out of 540 students engaged in activities, 35 or 6 per cent were dismissed from college for deficient scholarship, while of the

⁷Op. cit., p. 42

1,414 students not engaged in activities, 182 or 12 per cent were dismissed for the same reason. This study further showed that the highest average grade (1.44) was made by a group of 25 students who were engaged in the highest number of activities. Only two students, or 8 per cent of this group, were placed on probation as compared to the 17 per cent of nonactivity students on probation. Only one student, or 4 per cent of this group, was dismissed for deficient scholarship as compared to 12 per cent of nonactivity students.

These investigations seem to indicate that causes other than participation in extracurricular activities are the determining factors in low scholarship.

URBAN CENTERS AND THE CURRICULUM

JOHN A. KINNEMAN

This article has developed as the result of an effort to study the incidental outcomes of the various subject fields of the curriculum with a view to determining their functional value in the realm of a wise use of leisure time. Granting that history, civics, music, the fine arts, literature, and other subjects have then separately identified objectives and assuming that these objectives are realized, we may ask whether the objectives, as measured in the outcomes, are the most valid that can be set up.

With a view to scrutinizing the validity of objectives in the several subject fields an effort has been made to secure responses, in writing, from college students, to a number of unrelated and seemingly ridiculous inquiries. The inquiries consisted of a request for specific information on such items as the naming of some metropolitan newspapers, of some trunk-line railroads, or some weekly and monthly magazines, of movie stars, of some major league baseball players, and a variety of inquiries which might constitute a limited cross section of America's present-day recreational experiences. The instruction was given to the students that the naming of each item presupposed some ability at identification of it.

Three questions at the conclusion of the inquiry were concerned with places and things that one should see, hear, or experience in the three principal cities of the United States. No suggestions were given as to what things might be experienced. Each student was asked to name five things in Chicago which he or she would recommend to a friend, who had never been in the city, as worth experiencing when visiting there. The elements of the necessary time and money were considered to be satisfied. The interests of the person to whom the recommendations were made were supposed to be nonexistent. The only purpose which the investigation had was the evaluation of the total

experiences of these students, whether from school work, from magazine or newspaper reading, or from any other sources of current social experience.

The questions were submitted to 370 college students in Illinois. The large majority of them were sophomores, although there was a considerable scattering of members of other classes. The suggestions on Chicago which were listed most frequently are given below.

<i>Thing to be Experienced</i>	<i>Number Who Suggested It</i>
Field Museum	247
Art Institute	206
Lincoln Park	134
Planetarium	82
Department stores (chiefly Field's)	81
Stockyards	71
Civic Opera	65
Aquarium	64
Tribune building	63
University of Chicago	51
Municipal Pier	49
Lake Shore Drive	44
World's Fair buildings	43
Loop	42
Lake Michigan	38
Soldiers' Field	36
Hull House	32
Buckingham Fountain	31
Wrigley building	28
Board of Trade	17
Merchandise mart	13
Garfield Conservatory	12
Michigan Avenue	12
Radio stations	11
Slums	11
Union station	10

Places that were listed fewer than 10 times are not included in the above tabulation. However, there are many places which were recommended by fewer than 10 persons. Chinatown was recommended 9 times; the Public Library, 3; the Black Belt, 3; the Lindbergh Beacon, 5; the Ghetto, 6, to say nothing of many other places receiving fewer endorsements.

It is of interest to note that of the 370 students, 9 of them failed to make any responses as to what should be seen in Chicago. While each student was requested and allowed to make five suggestions the average number of suggestions per person was 4.4. Furthermore, the chief suggestions are those of institutions which lie on or near Michigan Avenue. The Art Institute, the Field Museum, the Aquarium, the Planetarium, Buckingham Fountain, the Municipal Pier, the Tribune tower, the World's Fair buildings, Michigan Avenue, and Lake Michigan adequately meet that characterization. Of course there is no evidence to indicate the extent and the quality of appreciation which the students had for any of the institutions named. Neither is there any evidence available to show that the persons who made the suggestions had experienced the thing that they recommended. It is rather striking to note, however, that such institutions as the parks, the theaters, the hotels, the restaurants, the industries, the libraries, the railroad stations, and the musical organizations were mentioned by only a negligible number of persons.

Turning now to Philadelphia the tabulation will suggest something of the more limited range of interests and of information concerning places and things to experience.

<i>Thing to be Experienced</i>	<i>Number Who Suggested It</i>
Independence Hall	168
Liberty Bell	85
Early Government buildings.... .	30
Department stores (chiefly Wanamaker's) .	24
Various connections with Franklin	18
Betsy Ross House	17
University of Pennsylvania...	15
Carpenters' Hall	15
United States Mint	13
Sesquicentennial buildings	9
Philadelphia Orchestra	8
Shipyards	8

Again, of the 370 students, 109 of them failed to make any suggestions on places to see in Philadelphia This

seems to evidence that they knew nothing of Philadelphia. Furthermore, the average number of recordings was 1.7, while each student was allowed to make five suggestions.

It will be noted that some of the places in Philadelphia connected with the early history of our country have received their share of attention. That the college student has had the dramatic events in history impressed upon him is reflected in the suggestions given for Philadelphia, which are really in the environs of Boston. There were 10 persons who suggested the Old North Church; 7 wanted to see Faneuil Hall; 3 suggested the Old South Church; 1 suggested seeing Paul Revere's home. On the other hand the Curtis Publishing Company, Temple University, Presser Music Foundation, and Jefferson Medical College each received one endorsement. On the other hand no one mentioned Bartram's Gardens, famous for their botanical lore. No one mentioned the Pennsylvania Hospital, famous as one of the first institutions of its kind in America. Four persons mentioned factories yet no one was specific about the factories which produced hats, saws, carpets, or textiles. Six persons seemed to be intellectually zealous to the point of visiting a Quaker meeting while five wanted to see Connie Mack's baseball team in action. While 13 recommended Central Park in New York only 2 suggested Fairmount Park in Philadelphia. While the historical buildings in and about Boston were confused as having a Philadelphia location, nevertheless the old Swedish Church, on the bank of the Delaware, seems to have been unknown to these several hundred college students. The teacher of history might ask the reason for this.

Proceeding to New York the tabulation on page 154 will suggest the recommendations made by the students.

There were 62 people who failed to make any recommendations, thus suggesting that they were probably not conscious of anything that should be seen in New York. The average number of suggestions for all of the students for New York was 2.9 in contrast with five which they were allowed to suggest.

<i>Thing to be Experienced</i>	<i>Number Who Suggested It</i>
Statue of Liberty	159
Woolworth building	77
Wall Street	71
Coney Island	55
Broadway	46
Brooklyn Bridge	46
Fifth Avenue	42
Empire State building	38
Ellis Island	33
Harbor	31
Docks	28
Chrysler building	24
Stock Exchange	24
Metropolitan Opera	23
Columbia University	22
Madison Square Garden	22
Subways	21
New York Times building	17
Metropolitan Art Museum	16
Grant's Tomb	15
Central Park	13
Chinatown	13
Hudson Tunnel	13
Slums	13
Bowery	11
Harlem	11
Roxy Theater	11
Times Square	11
Tammany Hall	10

Summary of Data

Total number of persons responding	370
Number failing to make any response on Chicago	9
On Philadelphia	109
On New York	62
Number of responses allowed for each city	5
Average number of responses secured on Chicago	4 4
Average on Philadelphia	1 7
Average on New York	2 9

INTERPRETATION OF DATA

It may be that there is little or no value in knowing what one might see or do while in any of the three principal cities of the United States. If one were going on a mere

sight-seeing expedition it would be reasonable to assume that outstanding edifices and institutions should be recommended as extensively as those things which are thought of merely as pathological. In New York 5 persons suggested the Cathedral of St John the Divine, 5, the Little Church Around the Corner; 6, the Public Library, 7, Trinity Church. On the other hand 11 recommended the Bowery; 13, Chinatown; 13, the slums. The socially abnormal seems to have a stronger call on the human consciousness than the normal.

From another angle we might note that college students are not contemporary minded in the sense that they follow all modern improvements. The Brooklyn Bridge was recommended by 46 people while the larger and more pretentious bridges, one the Philadelphia-Camden and the other the new Hudson River bridge, were each recommended three times. On the other hand we might wonder whether the recent construction of the new Civic Opera building in Chicago is not the basis for its receiving the 65 votes that it has, in contrast with the 23 given to the Metropolitan Opera in New York. What relationship should exist between the teaching of music in the grades and in high school and the appreciation of outstanding musical organizations?

There can be no doubt that more than an ordinary amount of attention has been given to those places in which some historical incident of dramatic character occurred. Then, too, it is fair to assume that the emphasis which has been given to some places through widely circulated pictures has had much to do with the endorsements which have been given to them. The best illustrations of this, no doubt, is the Statue of Liberty. One might reasonably wonder what educational value there is in any of the first five places named on the New York list—educational in the sense that an acquaintance with them assists one in making social adaptations.

That a large part of our information, including that

which we get in school, must be regional and provincial, is reflected in the fact that 247 persons seemed to know of and to recommend the Field Museum in Chicago while only 3 suggested the Museum of Natural History in New York. While 206 mentioned the Art Institute in Chicago only 16 mentioned the Metropolitan Museum of Art in New York; at the same time only 3 mentioned the Academy of Fine Arts in Philadelphia and one mentioned the new Municipal Art Museum in that city. This might seem to indicate that our art information is regional and maybe not functional in its best sense. When it came to the theater a few persons were quite vague about their recommendations in that they recommended a trip to the theater. One person from among the 370 suggested seeing "Green Pastures" in Chicago, while two persons, one of whom was included in the foregoing suggestion, recommended "Mourning Becomes Electra" in New York. As previously mentioned in connection with Chicago, hotels and restaurants were almost unknown, at least they were not mentioned. The University of Chicago, with its 51 endorsers, surpassed Columbia with 22, Pennsylvania with 15, Temple with 1, and New York University with 3. Two college students recommended the "Follies" while 4 persons thought that a night club would be necessary to round out a trip. One student majoring in music gave as her only recommendations in New York and Philadelphia respectively, the Statue of Liberty and the Liberty Bell.

There seems to be little doubt that the places suggested, especially in New York, represent a cross section of a typical American's quest for material achievements. The prominence given to the Woolworth building, the Brooklyn Bridge, the Empire State building, the Chrysler building, and the Hudson Tunnel evidences this. Ellis Island, in spite of the fact that it is now little used, was considered important by 33 people. Grant's Tomb was suggested by 15 people, but International House, located nearby, seemed to be entirely unknown. These people seemed to

be unaware of some famous churches in these cities manned by well-known clergymen.

One might wonder if different responses might not have been secured if these people, in being put through the educational paces, had been made aware of contemporary institutions—church, press, relief, recreation, school, industry, and other institutions instead of leaving the sight-seeing public to recommend the places of little social importance—places which, if city life were really well known, would be infinitely less awesome than they now are. Why should any one be awed by a high building? Doesn't every town and city have one? Shouldn't college students be more responsive to the realm of ideas than they seem to be to the larger things of our civilization? Should the school be responsible for making them more intellectually responsive? Should all subject fields be used in attaining the end?

PUBLIC SCHOOLS AND THE COMMUNITY CHEST¹

ARTHUR J. TODD

In the course of the general realignment of social institutions and the new division of labor between them which have come in the wake of the new industrialism and other phenomena changing the contours of western social structure, the school has taken on certain new functions. Among these new functions are some which are genuinely in the nature of technical social work. In other words, the school system is more and more becoming an essential pattern in the general social-welfare texture and activities in the modern community. Consequently, it is no matter for surprise that the public and private schools should have been brought within the ambit of such a vigorous movement of social organization as the community chest.

The chest and the schools have been brought together in various ways. Usually where a council of social agencies or community council is part of the community-chest plan, various activities of the public schools are represented, such as the visiting teachers, the school nurses, and the vocational-guidance and placement bureaus. In some communities new social-welfare services of the schools have been financed by the community chest during their experimental period; for example, in Cincinnati, Superintendent Edward D. Roberts in a letter of March 12, 1931, reviews the course of development of the service for children leaving school and also other activities.

The Vocation Bureau was established approximately fifteen years ago with the assistance of the community chest, no doubt under the feeling of the chest officials that there was justification for the community's social agency to finance the Board of Education's service in controlling child employment,

¹This paper was originally read in the section on Sociology and Education of the American Sociological Society, Washington, 1931.

attendance, and the like. Consequently, counseling when it was begun some ten years ago was under the assistance of the community chest, though increasingly this support has been withdrawn and the entire maintenance provided from the Board of Education treasury.

The director of the Vocation Bureau is still under salary partly from the community chest and partly from the Schmidlapp Bureau, a foundation in this city devoted to social service.

The community chests have frequently lent their influence to supporting various movements for the improvement of school facilities. The Cleveland Welfare Federation in the course of fifteen years' work has carried through a series of projects in community research of great value, both directly and indirectly, to the school system. These include a general children's survey in 1920, a recreation survey during the same year, and a report on the County Board of Child Welfare in 1929. It also undertook in 1930 a study of the relation of settlement houses to public schools. Among health studies of concern to the public school may be mentioned *The Health of the Young Child*, *Dental Surgical Work for Children*, *Uniform Health Teaching*, and an analysis of the preschool diphtheria campaign.

Since the annual financial drive or campaign is an outstanding social event in chest communities, the schools could hardly be left as mere passive bystanders. No complete record has ever been obtained of all the activities of the nearly 400 active community chests and councils in the United States. Apparently the great majority of the chests which are members of, and report to, the Association of Community Chests and Councils, do not overtly solicit school children through the machinery of the public schools. In most communities teachers form a section or division of the campaign organization. In 1930, eighteen community-chest cities reported subscriptions from public-school children. During the last year, two of these cities, viz, Madison, Wisconsin, and Pueblo, Colorado, report

that they have ceased to solicit school children. The executive in one of these cities writes:

We have a population here of not much accumulated wealth, most of our resident citizens being in the employed, pay-roll class. Our gifts come to us in small amounts, and we have felt that many people would not give were their children solicited.

The other executive writes:

We placed literature in the hands of the school teachers and the pupils, believing that the continuation of an educational program is much more important than the moneys collected.

In 1930 only five really considerable metropolitan communities included school children in their solicitation; viz., Cleveland, Los Angeles, Newark, St. Paul, and Denver.

It is doubtful if the total contributed by school children in all of the chest cities of the United States has ever reached \$100,000. The total reported in 1930 for the eighteen cities was slightly under \$80,000. The number of school children responding to the solicitation is not always reported, but in the cities for which figures are obtainable the numbers range from 1,200 in Hot Springs, Arkansas, to 157,000 in Los Angeles, and over 219,000 in Cleveland. It has sometimes been asserted that these community chests include school children as a means of padding the total of their givers. There is but little point to this criticism, however, because in practically every case the figures of school-children contributors are reported separately from the general analysis of contributors and contributions. There may, by some stretching of the imagination, be a spark of advertising virtue in being able to say that one half of the population of Cleveland contributes to the community fund, if the school children be included in the list of contributors, but this is doubtful.

It is more important to determine the percentage of the total funds raised which were secured from school children than to know how many children contributed, or the exact

sum of their contributions. In six cities for which figures were obtainable, school children contributed one half or less than one-half per cent of the total fund raised in 1930; in five cities, between one half and one per cent; in three cities, one per cent or over.

In no event, therefore, are the actual money contributions of school children of prime significance. Indeed, were any attempt made to keep a separate accounting for such individual donations from school children, the cost of printing, of posters, of special badges, and of collection would no doubt amount to far more than the total realized from this source. In some communities the chest specifically limits the amount accepted from school children, and there is apparently no attempt to apply coercive measures or to stigmatize children who do not give.² In Muncie, Indiana, for example, the chest executive specifically states that the solicitation from school children is conducted more from an educational than a financial standpoint:

We do not have contests among the schools for giving the largest sum of money like a great many cities do, because some of our schools are in poor districts and cannot contribute much, thus giving the others an unfair advantage. However, each teacher tries to have her particular room 100 per cent in number of contributions and each school reports 100 per cent wherever possible.

Teachers are instructed to tell their pupils all about the community fund, its agencies and their activities. Some schools where children are unable to bring pennies, they are given some small chore to perform such as cleaning the blackboard, filling inkwells, dusting, etc. The teacher pays them a few pennies for this task and they in turn contribute their earnings with the other contributions. The educational value derived from such methods is indeed beneficial to the community fund.

The educational value of participating in such a community-wide enterprise as a chest campaign is considered

²During the discussion of this paper at Washington, a public-school teacher of that city strongly criticized the various "drives" (notably Junior Red Cross) for attempting to enlist a hundred per cent response from school children with fruit, handkerchiefs, and other contributions. She claimed that teachers usually have to provide the extra money or articles to complete the school quotas, and even reported cases where children had stolen articles with which to make their contribution. The complaint was not against the merit of the organizations, nor against appeals for contributions, but against the use of coercion to secure the factitious appearance of universal response.

by both the chest and the schools to be the most desirable end to be attained. Participation in these campaigns stimulates the interest of teachers and parents, but vastly more important than this is the opportunity they afford for putting into the hands of teachers and children valuable material on local community conditions, community needs, and the community-organized welfare agencies set up to meet these needs. The school children are given a sense of community responsibility, and frequently a vivid appreciation of the essential integration of their communities. By graphs, charts, diagrams, photographs, posters, discussions, and dramatics the children are led to an understanding of how the members of a community are part and parcel of each other. This theoretical sense of interdependence is frequently illuminated by organized visits to typical social-welfare institutions.

School children are encouraged to participate in various ways besides financial contributions; for example, the 1931 prize-winning poster for the Madison, Wisconsin, campaign was drawn by a boy in Central High School. In that city a special four-page leaflet was prepared and circulated among the school children, stating very simply the types of social-welfare work, understandable by children, performed by various agencies in the community union.

In St. Paul, Minnesota, large posters were distributed to the schools designed to show the "Trail of the Community Chest" meandering from the school, by the home for the aged and the orphanages, and by the agencies working on behalf of children's health, boys and girls, needy families. In this particular city the school campaign plan included equipment for each schoolroom, consisting of a container for receiving the room contributions, a chart or diagram to record the contributions, and a special designation to be worn by the contributor. The schoolrooms were organized under a chest captain, with a committee of from five to ten pupils working with the captain

The captain's duties were to:

- 1 Place chart on wall
2. Mark progress of room on chart
- 3 See that the container for the money is properly placed each day
4. To organize his committee into a speakers' bureau who shall learn all they can, from any and all sources, of the variety of activities which the chest supports. One or two of the committee should give short talks each day on some phase of the chest work and should also lead the room in discussions of the ways and means by which the pupils may earn or save money for their contributions. Some group project might be undertaken to supplement the individual contributions. The idea of self-denial should be stressed as well as the unusual amount of need in this particular year. As always, the goal of 100 per cent participation should be emphasized more than the actual amount of money to be raised. A folder of general information will be sent each teacher as a help in answering children's questions and supplying additional material.

In this city too the chest prepared a set of materials to be spread before the children and designed to familiarize them to some extent with:

- 1 The social and industrial order in which they live and some of the problems which are characteristic of our times many of them problems of all times
2. Some concept of the community organization necessary to take care of people who cannot care for themselves
- 3 Some idea why so many people cannot take care of themselves

A commendable feature of this plan was the accompanying suggestion that these materials would be effective only as they were given life and color by the ingenuity of the individual teacher.

It is probably easy to work on the ready sympathies of the average youngster to make "feeling sorry for the poor" the sole reason for the community chest. But it would seem to be possible, also, especially with the older children, to develop a concept of a social ideal of responsibility for the welfare of all men, women, and children making up a city, the State, and nation.

Then follows a list of the general types of social work represented by such agencies as the family societies; relief-

giving agencies; agencies for the care of the aged; orphanages; character-building and recreational agencies; health care.

This little manual includes questions like the following, to be written on the board as topics for class discussion:

What do we mean by private philanthropy, what is its opposite?

What is dependency?

What causes dependency?

Why should boys and girls understand community problems like dependency, health, recreation for children, care of the aged, etc?

What causes unemployment?

What are some of the effects in families of unemployment?

Explain what is meant. Character is made or marred in spare time.

Questions for the older boys and girls include the following:

This is called an industrial civilization. Why?

What are the hazards of present-day industry?

What do we mean by a living wage?

What is a social program, social planning?

What is unemployment insurance?

What are old-age pensions?

What countries provide pensions for mothers with dependent children?

What are the Workman's Compensation laws?

What is meant by socially and economically inadequate?

What is a social worker?

What were the ideals of youth's development in ancient Greece? In Sparta? Compare these with the ideals for the development of youth today.

In St. Paul certain written and oral exercises based upon observations outside the classroom were also suggested. The children were asked to bring illustrations cut out of magazines and to make posters for such slogans as: Give for the Children; Help Others, Share; Help. Other suggestions include an editorial on "Why St. Paul should care for the unemployed"; a radio announcement of the coming community-chest campaign; a plan for some representative or representatives of the school to visit some of the

chest-supported agencies. In addition, certain social situations were outlined briefly as problem cases, together with an equally brief statement of how a social-welfare agency would handle the case; for example:

George, aged 19, earns \$10.00 a week. He has three younger brothers whose ages are 3, 6, and 9. His father is dead. He is the sole support of his mother and the younger children. George graduated from high school last year and his teachers say he was a very fine student with an unusual talent for drawing. His mother would go out and do work by the day, but feels that the children are too young to be left alone. What can be done to help George?

It is interesting to know that George found a friend in a worker from a family agency. The younger children were placed in a day nursery (which gives day care to children of working mothers), while his mother found some places where she could work by the day. A scholarship was secured for George through a men's luncheon club and he is now attending night classes in advanced drawing and design. George is very happy and beginning to feel that after all he will attain his ambition to be an artist.

A girl, aged 12, from Springfield, Illinois (sent to St. Paul after her mother's death), arrives at the Union station with less than a dollar. She has expected an aunt to meet her. What would happen to this little girl if the aunt did not meet her?

Travelers' Aid would immediately see a child who was not met and would find her aunt. If that were not possible they would telegraph the Travelers' Aid in Springfield for further information. If the child proved to be a dependent child she would be returned to Springfield for care.

Cleveland has been a pioneer in the problem of campaigning with school children, and also in providing educational materials for social education in the schools. In 1930 the following campaign letter was sent out to the teachers of both high schools and elementary schools. It was signed jointly by the Superintendent of Schools, the Roman Catholic Bishop of Cleveland, and the Chairman of the Schools Division of the fund campaign. Along with it went a handbook of campaign information.

To the teacher

The purpose of this booklet is to offer suggestions by means

of which you may help the children in your classroom to grow in community consciousness and responsibility through understanding the services and needs of the community fund

Because the aim of the Schools Division of the Fund is educational, we offer the following suggestions: (1) The work should be, so far as possible, a part of the school procedure throughout the year, since short, intensive drives rarely have permanent value, and (2) while 100 per cent contribution from children is highly desirable, it should be expected only in districts where it may be accomplished without hardship to the child.

To promote the well-being of the community in which we live is, to the extent of our ability, a personal obligation. Let us again direct our best efforts towards helping with mind and heart this beneficent civic enterprise.

From the Elementary Teachers' Handbook, the following page summarizes the facts which it is aimed to get to both the teachers and the school children through this type of civic educational material:

Why is a Community Fund needed

When Cleveland was a small village, sickness or other needs in one family brought a quick response from the neighbors. As the village grew into a town, and then into a city, it became more and more difficult to know of the neighbors in need, although a larger number and more varied problems presented themselves.

The following basic activities included in the community plan secure support through the Cleveland Community Fund:

1. *The Relief of Suffering*—Families lacking food, shelter, or clothing because of poverty, sickness, death of the breadwinner, imprisonment, or desertion, children neglected, mistreated, or deprived of parents, the acutely or the chronically ill, those suddenly afflicted by blindness or crippled conditions are given emergency relief if natural resources fail to provide the necessities

2. *The Rebuilding of Strength*—Physical, mental, moral—The second basic activity is the provision of ways and means for rebuilding the sick. This may mean many days' care in a hospital or many treatments in a dispensary. More difficult is the necessary rebuilding of the handicapped and the mentally ill. Rebuilding broken family homes, helping the members of a family to regain independence, self-respect, or to overcome obstacles causing the problem are the objectives of the family-welfare agencies. Careful study of the family background and the resources in the family and the community

is necessary before a constructive plan may be worked out. Similar services are made available to children and adolescents who need guidance and opportunities.

3 *The Giving of a Second Chance*—Those whose anti-social conduct has been marked enough to bring them before the courts, especially first offenders, need friends—and another chance. Such resources as the Training School of the Sisters of the Good Shepherd, the Brotherhood Club for men paroled from the workhouse, and other agencies are essential aids in giving this “second chance.” The homes for unmarried mothers ensure friendliness, physical care, and help in a plan for the future at a most critical time. The handicapped are trained for other work.

4 *The Guidance of Those Who May be Getting Off the Track*—Preventing wrecked lives and wrecked families through attention to danger signals brings large dividends to a community. Community Fund agencies assist in adjustments within the family circle, interpreting child to parent and parent to child. They also try to bring both into an understanding relationship with the school and the employer. To do these things, they utilize the recreational and educational opportunities offered in settlement clubs and classes, Scout and Camp Fire Groups, and Christian Associations.

5 *The Correction of Conditions Leading to Suffering and the Building of a Better Citizenship*—Programs of agencies, such as those concerned with efforts to eradicate tuberculosis, epidemics, and hazards causing blindness and accidents, are vital if we do not want to pyramid the far-reaching suffering caused by sickness and accidents.

The building of health as illustrated by the programs of the camps, the building of character through group work in settlements and other associations, the encouragement of young people and adults to secure vocational and avocational skills which will make for a stable and well-adjusted life are among the activities needing support. Fostering of group and racial understanding, stimulating neighborliness, planning with public agencies for better housing, a cleaner city, adequate recreation facilities, and educational opportunities adapted to the needs of all groups are other essential points covered in agency programs.

6 *The Study of Causes*—Last, and most important of the basic activities needing community-fund support, is the analysis of problems and our plans for attacking them—study of birth and death statistics, prevalence of disease, crime conditions, present methods of care, and trends in each field of work. A searching inquiry into the reasons for past successes and

failures and consideration of new phases of community problems are essential. The activities of the Welfare Federation and Jewish Federation in encouraging such study by their member agencies are typical of this division.

These campaign materials are placed in the hands of school children, or are sometimes written by the children themselves, but usually are prepared by teachers or school executives in collaboration with the community-chest staff.

The principle of coercive conformity is apparently not the basis for securing the cooperation of school children in community-chest campaigns. Much more effective is the positive appeal made through the awarding of distinctive feathers, buttons, or badges of one sort or another. One community uses a green feather; another sends out a red feather to be stuck in the cap of every child that contributes. The slogan, the symbol, and a certain urge through competition and conspicuous reward are utilized to stimulate the motor response of the children, along with their mental response, to the various pieces of campaign literature put in their hands.

The community fund of Cleveland offers the junior and senior high-school teachers somewhat more advanced study materials than are found in the elementary handbook. In the 1930 edition of this handbook, high-school pupils were urged to write and sing community-fund songs; to write verses and jingles; to make posters; to devise slogans; to put out a special community-fund edition of the school paper; to write and act an original play; to choose a group of students who were to go from room to room making short speeches for the community fund; to use words suggested by community-fund activities in their vocabulary building and spelling; (for example—adequate, assist, beneficiary, campaign, donor, hygiene, institution, neighbor, organization, welfare); they were encouraged to read and discuss poems and stories which had as their underlying theme one or more of the philosophical principles of the community fund, such as Lowell's *Vision of*

Sir Launfal, Wilde's *Happy Prince*, Hawthorne's *Great Stone Face*, Dickens' *Christmas Carol*, and Mark Twain's *The Prince and the Pauper*. The handbook also included samples of exercises from previous years of school experience in English and even in Latin. Hints for the utilization of community-welfare agencies and community-fund facts are offered to practically every department of high-school instruction—English, mathematics, history, geography, home economics, art, music, biology, and manual training.

So far, for the most part, we have been discussing the relations between the school and social-welfare finance in community-chest cities but the experience of Cincinnati shows that this same educational work can be accomplished without financial solicitation of school children. The community chest in this city prepares and broadcasts throughout the schools of the whole city booklets designed to acquaint school children with community facts and "to make real to pupils the fundamental interdependence of all our citizens, and the obligation resting upon each to recognize and act upon his personal responsibility as a member of the community."

Since in Cincinnati, as in other chest cities, the campaign is the high point of community education in social-welfare work during the year, these campaign and community facts are put into the hands of teachers to aid them "in developing the great educational values inherent in the community-chest campaign and in the organizations affiliated with it."

It seems to be the general consensus of opinion among school authorities and community-chest executives where the plan is in vogue that carrying the community-chest campaign into the schools provides the basis for social education and for developing an attitude of community responsibility not easily secured otherwise.

W. Frank Persons, in his study of the community chest ten years ago, seems to have assumed more or less as a matter of course that the solicitation of school children

was a definite and unobjectionable part of the community-chest plan. He shows its possible effectiveness in strengthening current campaigns as well as in laying an educational basis for the whole plan of federated financing.

School children in several cities are invited to make small contributions, though the purpose is predominately educational. The plan is to reach the school children with carefully prepared statements, or through lessons which become a part of their classroom work at the time of the campaign. In Cleveland, the maximum gift asked is ten cents. In Cincinnati, there has been for three years a course of study on the work of the community council, in all grades of parochial, private, and public schools. No money is asked from the children, as a matter of principle. The children are encouraged to explain to their parents the purpose and meaning of the campaign. Last year when the campaign seemed likely not to reach its goal, the children were reached through the public schools, and thus in every home an effective emergency appeal was made.

The experience of the school system in Los Angeles in its relation with the community chest over a series of years has been summarized by Mr. W. S. Field, assistant superintendent, as follows:

The entire school department of Los Angeles cooperates with the community chest in every possible way. School children are permitted to contribute to the chest through their schools but they are not urged to do so, neither are children permitted to know what other children give, and no competition to see what classroom or school shall give the most is permitted. The children take information concerning the community chest to their homes. The art classes in high schools prepare community-chest posters, school papers carry articles giving community-chest information, and it is assumed that all children are helping with the chest. On this assumption every child is given the little colored feather which is used this year to indicate that contribution has been made.

All employees of the Board of Education are invited to contribute to the community chest but no pressure is brought to bear to force them to do so.

High-school pupils go to the elementary schools and speak for the community chest before the elementary-school pupils.

There appears to be no criticism on the part of the public of having the schools cooperate with the community chest in the manner indicated in the foregoing. It is difficult to point

out specific beneficial results but it is believed that the community chest gives opportunity for very concrete instruction in the responsibilities of society for its less fortunate members and in the ways in which those responsibilities are being met.

The procedures outlined in the previous paragraphs have in general been followed in Los Angeles for several years. While it is possible that improvement can be effected in minor details, the general plan appears to be highly acceptable.

The community chest undoubtedly is an effective agency for creating social attitudes. Its emphasis upon teamwork, upon pooling of resources, upon tolerance, upon universal giving, and its utilization of certain human appeals through the massed campaign are all effective devices in the direction of social education broadly considered. The community-chest campaign and its follow-up through the year, designed to include school children in its scope, has, therefore, a double significance of providing for the public schools a series of teaching materials along community lines, invested with a certain immediacy, concreteness, and vitality not usually secured in other ways. The sense of participation in a community-wide movement offers additional pedagogical opportunity, and, on the part of the community chest, the inclusion of the school in its campaign offers the opportunity for creating social awareness and social understanding which can scarcely fail to be of capital value to the community-chest movement in years to come.

Meanwhile, perhaps as near as we could come to stating general principles for guiding and safeguarding this relationship between community chests and the schools would be to urge (1) that if school children are solicited at all, such solicitation should be entirely freed from pressure or coercion of any sort, (2) that in the long run community funds stand to gain more from supplying schools with educational materials on social-welfare work prepared by, or in cooperation with, school authorities than from soliciting children's pennies, (3) that there is little or no advantage in padding contributor totals with thousands of school

children; (4) that local conditions and traditions will in general determine in what way school children can participate to the best advantage in chest campaigns, (5) that there is no valid reason for not soliciting teachers as a group and, that on the other hand, in cities like Detroit experience proves that the teachers are among the most influential supporters of the chest.

RELATED AND SUBSIDIARY STUDIES OF THE BOYS' CLUB STUDY OF NEW YORK UNIVERSITY

FREDERIC M. THRASILER

Editorial Note The following account of the related and subsidiary investigations of the Boys' Club Study has been prepared from statements written by the following staff members or persons working from time to time in cooperation with the Study: Nels Anderson, Salvatore Cimilluca, Marce J. Concistré, Leonard Covello, Paul G. Cressey, Harry Friedgut, James R. Griffiths, Bertha Hirshstein, John E. Jacobi, Caroline W. Leonard, May Case Marsh, Vincent McAloon, Edith Mozorosky, Reginald Robinson, Mabel E. Rugen, Burton Peter Thom, Margaret E. Tulley, and Sydney R. Ussher.¹

The following list represents merely an enumeration of the related and subsidiary studies of the Boys' Club Study:

- Descriptive study of the boys' club—Reginald Robinson.
- History of the boys' club movement in the United States—Joseph Greeley.
- Boys' club administration and personnel—Harry Friedgut
- Participation in program and leadership among boys' club boys—Elizabeth Watson
- Health activities of the boys' club—Mabel E. Rugen.
- Morbidity and mortality in a boys' club area—Burton Peter Thom, M.D.
- Community organization in a boys' club area—Sydney R. Ussher.
- History of boys' club community from Colonial beginnings to 1880—Nels Anderson
- History of boys' club community from 1880's to date—Salvatore Cimilluca
- Vocational and employment problems of boys—Anthony H. Petrazzuolo
- Juvenile delinquency in boys' club and related areas—John E. Jacobi
- Truancy in boys' club areas—Edith Mozorosky
- Statistical indices of truancy—Jacob Drachler.
- Commercialized recreation in boys' club area—Vincent McAloon
- Social rôle of motion pictures in boys' club area—Paul G. Cressey, et al.
- "Big muscle" activities in boys' club area—James R. Griffiths.
- Social functions of churches in boys' club area—May Case Marsh

¹The whole of the September (1932) issue of THE JOURNAL was devoted to the basic methods—general set-up and case study, ecological and statistical phases—of the Boys' Club Study of New York University. This article is an account of the related and subsidiary studies.

Boy Scouting in boys' club area—Margaret E. Tilley, et al
 Social settlements and community houses in boys' club area
 —Caroline W. Leonard

The public library and the influence of reading in a boys' club area—Bertha T. Hirshstein

Adult education in a boys' club area—Marie J. Conciatré.

Italian heritages in a boys' club area—Leonard Covello

Housing in a boys' club area—Margaret B. Gerard

A study of girls in a boys' club area—Dorothy Reed

Problems of the girls' club in a boys' club area—Annette Perkins

Family status of boys' club members and non-club boys—
 Edwin L. Huntley

Certain phases of these studies have dealt with special aspects of the boys' club itself, while many have been concerned with community backgrounds and social influences outside the boys' club program.² All have contributed to make the Boys' Club Study somewhat unique in envisaging the total situation complex which provides the setting for boys' club influence. An attempt has been made to describe so far as possible all the interacting factors which constituted the immediate environment of one of the clubs, basic population data, mobility, institutions, groups, and persons. By including normal as well as pathological conditions within the scope of the Study, truancy, delinquency, and juvenile demoralization are seen in relation to normal recreational activities. An important assumption has been that no one social fact in a community can be adequately understood without some investigation of the total milieu within which it is functioning.³

An important phase of the Study of the boys' club itself, under the direction of Reginald Robinson, has been an application of the descriptive method. An attempt has been made here to formulate a complete and accurate description of the program and activities of a typical boys' club unit. For purposes of comparison descriptions of other units with somewhat different emphases have been included in the plan. These have been presented in rela-

²It should be specifically noted that no related or subsidiary study was undertaken which in any way impaired the progress of the Boys' Club Study proper by the diversion of either time, energy, or money provided for that purpose.

³See Frederic M. Thrasher, "The Study of the Total Situation," *Journal of Educational Sociology*, April and June 1928, pp. 477-91, 599-613.

tion to the history of specific boys' clubs and the boys' club movement in general⁴ and have been thrown against a background of general standards for boys' club work set up by the national boys' club organization (Boys' Clubs of America, Inc.).

A more specific phase of the descriptive study has been the investigation of the administration and personnel of a given boys' club unit under the direction of Harry Friedgut. This has included a description of the qualifications of boys' workers, both paid and volunteer, and the set-up and organization of the boys' club administration.

A descriptive study of the health activities of the boys' club was completed by Mabel E. Rugen, who, by the use of statistical materials, interviews, and direct observations, was able to build up an interesting picture of this phase of boys' club work. In addition an attempt was made by the use of similar methods to describe the extensive health activities of other agencies in the same area and to see the boys' club health work in relation to the larger health program in the district. A statistical study of the sociological aspects of morbidity and mortality in one of the boys' club areas was made by Burton Peter Thom, M D.

Turning from this group of studies we come to a consideration of the projects which are concerned with the community background and the social influences expressed in various types of groups, institutions, and cultural heritages. No institution which performs a community function can exist in isolation, nor can it be at all understood without a careful study of its interrelationships and interactions with the multiplicity of social structures and social forces which make up the complex of community life. Since the boys' club is no exception to this well-established generalization, it was essential in this Study to survey and to describe the complicated social structure of the boys' club community,⁵ in order to understand and interpret ade-

⁴A history of the boys' club movement in the United States has been undertaken by Joseph Greeley.

⁵This was done very intensively for a district in which one of the boys' club units was located.

quately the part which it played in the life of the district

The general survey of the area studied most thoroughly and the study of community organization in this district has been under the general direction of Sydney R. Ussher. The methods used in constructing the social base map of the community have been described in an article which appeared in the September number of *THE JOURNAL*. Once the enumeration and classification of social structures had been completed, the next problem was to get behind the formal names and superficial functions attributed to social groups and institutions and to discover the actual processes in operation—the conflicts within and without, the methods of cooperation, the interactions and interrelationships, the ramifications of influence, etc.

Then, systematically, we visited each place on our map. We hobnobbed with bankers and janitors, took luncheon with letter carriers, went swimming with a social worker. As occasion demanded we assumed various guises; a reporter for a local tabloid, a real-estate agent, a fond uncle seeking a nice social club for his nephew to join. We found that people told more of themselves and of the institutions and groups with which they had dealings when they spoke to an interested but apparently *unrecording* individual. Most people like to talk; their only fear is that of being quoted. Consequently, we rarely showed pencil and paper, but relied on our memories and an early access to the dictating machine back at the University for an account of the interview. These reports we made as nearly verbatim as possible. And, of course, we regarded our data as confidential, so far as ever revealing anything derogatory about identifiable institutions or persons was concerned.

With the larger institutions, such as churches, schools, hospitals, and settlements, we made ourselves known in order to get specific data. But in poolrooms, saloons, candy stores, club rooms, etc., and even in the larger institutions when we wanted to learn attitudes or hear gossip, we attempted to conceal our identity. With regard to every institution, however, we tried to gather information on the following points

1. Function
 2. History—date and cause of inception, development
 3. Area served
 4. Policy
 5. Program
- } both theoretical and actual

6. Method of financing
- 7 Personnel—names, addresses, and duties of directors, members, employees, how appointed
8. Cooperation—both positive and negative—with other institutions
- 9 Competition—overlapping or duplication of service
- 10 Attitudes of personnel towards
 - a) their own organization
 - b) other organizations
 - c) community in general
11. Attitudes of outsiders towards the organization and its personnel.

Certain institutions were covered in more detail than others. We secured case studies of a typical school, representative churches, a large hospital, one of the most active settlements, and the leading foreign-language newspapers

To make the study more graphic we have had photographs made of each kind of institution. These were taken by professional photographers under the direction of staff members so that scenes were obtained which were not only technically correct but significant sociologically

A schedule similar to that for institutions was worked out for groups. It included the following points

- 1 Ecology (distributive aspect of the units of the group)
- 2 Function
3. Background
- 4 Developmental history
- 5 Personnel (including leadership)
- 6 Relationship to other groups . .

These groups we placed on our map along with the institutions and agencies and we began to notice the appearance of natural areas. We gave these descriptive names such as the Gold Coast, the Slum, the Health Belt, Marooned German Families, Irish Islands, Petrograd, the Bright Lights Area, the Black Wedge, etc. It has been interesting to correlate these areas with other data on the map such as population density, land usage, land value, transportation facilities, distribution of telephones, etc. Twenty-five paid investigators and seventy-five college students who elected projects in this field have brought in material which has constantly changed our minor objectives and enlarged the scope of our study.

Our major objectives, however, have remained fairly constant. We wanted to be able to answer questions like the following with reference to the area:

To what extent is public opinion area opinion? Does the area think as a unit?

Is leadership local or is it imported? Is there considerable interlocking of leadership?

How stable is the area compared with other communities?

How do the institutions adapt themselves to a changing environment?

What do the racial, economic, religious, and political conflicts do to the organization of the area as a community?

Is there overlapping of administrative areas? Is there uncovered territory?

To what extent do social organizations, financed from the outside, act as artificial substitutes for real community organization, with the support coming from within?

Our greatest difficulty in this project is not in finding enough material. It is in selecting from the welter of heterogeneous facts as they come in the points which will most adequately cover our objectives and at the same time culminate in making an honest picture which gives the significant backgrounds of the boys' club unit being investigated.⁶

By means of the methods described above as well as the collection of printed reports, local surveys, special studies, dictations by superior boys, etc., it has been possible to build up extensive files including descriptions of the nature and functioning of all types of groups and institutions in the neighborhoods from which the boys' club draws its membership. In most cases specific data is available on each individual social structure. This background material is invaluable in explaining the interests and activities of specific boys and groups of boys who have had contacts with the agencies in question. Without it every such contact of the boys would have had to be formal and external.

In order to procure a more adequate background for understanding the current organization of the boys' club community, two historical studies were undertaken. The first of these, by Nels Anderson,⁷ traced the social antecedents of the area by means of a sociohistorical study from Colonial beginnings up to the 1880's. The second by Salvatore Cimilluca took the development of the area from the 80's to the present day. These two studies provided significant backgrounds for understanding social trends.

⁶The quotation is from a statement prepared by Sydney R. Usher.

⁷Author of *The Hobo: The Sociology of the Homeless Man* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1923), xv+302 pages and joint author with Edward C. Lindeman of *Urban Sociology* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1928), xxxiv+414 pages +xii.

Important to the purpose of the Boys' Club Study was an investigation of delinquency in the area of special study and also a more extensive study of delinquency rates as related to natural areas in the city as a whole. This project, primarily ecological, was undertaken by John E. Jacobi. Juvenile court cases were secured for 1925, 1927, and 1930 and spotted on maps. Delinquency rates were then secured for census tracts by the use of methods similar to those employed by Shaw and his colleagues in Chicago.⁸ These rates were then related to natural areas which were described in terms of significant social and cultural traits. This was necessary in order to determine how rates were changing in areas possessing boys' work facilities and other characteristics the same as or different from those of the boys' club area under special study. The significance of this method is indicated, for example, in a case where delinquency rates would be found declining with equal or greater rapidity in a non-boys' club area, a type of fact which would stimulate further investigation.

A similar study of truant boys on a smaller scale and in a more limited area was undertaken by Edith Mozorosky. In both studies an attempt was made to understand and describe the local and city-wide machinery for dealing with truants and delinquents. More detailed studies of truants and delinquents were undertaken in the area of more intensive study immediately adjacent to a specific boys' club.

It was deemed important to describe and to attempt to estimate to some extent the type of influence of agencies other than the boys' club which might affect the behavior and attitudes of boys' club members and nonmembers and which in this way might condition the work of the club. Social influences in this community, some of a wholesome and others possibly of a demoralizing type, were studied, therefore, either incidentally to other studies or as special projects. Rather complete studies have been undertaken

⁸See Clifford R. Shaw, *Delinquency Areas* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1929), xxi+214 pages.

of commercialized and public recreation, the churches, the Boy Scouts, the social settlements, a girls' club unit, the agencies and institutions of adult education, and the nationality heritages—all in one particular boys' club area.

The study of commercialized recreation, under the direction of Vincent McAloon, included poolrooms, candy stores, dance halls, penny arcades, and burlesque and other theaters exclusive of motion-picture establishments.⁹ The methods of investigation involved enumeration and description of all such institutions in the area of study based upon first-hand observation, interviews, and dictations of superior boys and special investigators.

A limited study of the "big-muscle" activities¹⁰ of a part of the area of intensive study was carried out under the direction of James R. Griffiths. The techniques used included "direct observation, interviews, use of the Ciné Kodak and Kodashope, copying of programs of activities, use of police welfare records, and use of stop watch"¹¹ This study included an investigation of informal play activities as well as of facilities for public recreation.

A thorough study of the religious institutions of the area served by the boys' club unit was made by May Case Marsh. In general this was "a descriptive study of the social function of the church in the modern industrial community, particularly in the interstitial area of the city."¹² Especial emphasis was placed upon a description of the educational activities of these religious institutions.

The ways in which these churches measure up to the needs of the community, to the standards set by the church in general, the ways in which they reflect the nationalities, the activities, the changes taking place in home and economic condi-

⁹The Motion Picture Project of the Boys' Club Study, carried on as a part of a national study under the auspices of the National Motion Picture Research Council and financed by a special grant of \$6,500 from the Payne Fund of New York City, will be fully described in the December issue of *THE JOURNAL* which will be devoted wholly to the methods of the national study under the general chairmanship of Dr. W. W. Charters of Ohio State University. Paul G. Cressey is Associate Director of the Motion Picture Project.

¹⁰"The term *big muscle activities* as here used is defined as any type of individual or group behavior of the large skeletal muscles, whether organized or unorganized, directed or undirected." From a statement by James R. Griffiths.

¹¹From a statement by James R. Griffiths.

¹²From a statement by May Case Marsh.

tions and in religious beliefs; the turnover in population and in church membership, the differences between the churches and their common elements, the number and sex of members, the church plants, finances, methods used in meeting their objectives and in serving the community, their problems, and the attitudes of young people to the church—all were included in this study.

Dr. Maish's study included case studies of two churches of Eastern Orthodox denomination, three Jewish synagogues, twenty Protestant churches of different denominations and serving different racial and nationality groups, seven Roman Catholic churches, and one church of the American Catholic faith. The methods of gathering data included direct observation and visitation over a period of a year and one half, extensive interviewing of clergy, staff, church officials, church and Sunday-school members, officers and members of religious organizations, former members, social workers, club members, business men, boys and girls on the streets, and officers of national denominational organizations. Church documents, pamphlets, and other printed matter such as newspaper and magazine articles, and files of the Boys' Club Study were also used.

The descriptive method as employed in this phase of the Boys' Club Study indicates how much insight can be gained into the processes of institutional and community life without the use of mathematical measurement in any refined or elaborate sense.

It is our conviction that descriptive studies of groups, institutions, and communities when combined with adequate analyses are far more revealing of mechanisms, problems, and methods for the solution of problems than purely statistical investigations of the same phenomena.

Harry B. Levy has pointed out that "research in physical science relied upon direct observation, until it had sufficiently formulated qualitative differences to specify the invention of intermediary instruments for quantitatively measuring these differences by indirect observation, its modern method." Investigators in the social field who are dealing with persons, groups, and institutions, as well as communities, make the mistake of attempting to employ indirect observational techniques, experimental or statistical, without suitable instruments for the

measurement of qualitative differences. These "intermediary instruments" which can be used in the field of social science must await the more definite formulation of qualitative differences which depends upon the descriptive and analytical methods as applied in the case study. This end can be achieved only by the "continued collection and classification of directly observed phenomenal facts," since the discovery of mechanisms does not depend upon statistical techniques but upon careful case studies which approximate the experiments of the physical sciences.

The description of a gang, for example, as a characteristic type of social group with characteristic behaviors and the consequent ability to identify such a group are of paramount importance to social control. Correct identification bestows the ability to predict the behavior of the group in a given situation, providing the mechanisms of this type of group behavior have been adequately described and analyzed. Institutions likewise may be described and classified into types which have characteristic forms of development and decline and which display typical behaviors under different sets of conditions. This applies to such social phenomena as schools, churches, families, and economic institutions, as well as to natural areas, communities, and nations.

The methods of description and analysis as applied in the case study have an instructive analogy in the field of medicine where the "clinical research method of directly observing the sick human individual as a complex whole has conclusively demonstrated its scientific validity." Likewise, "the clinical research method of directly observing" the person, group, institution, or community, "sick" or well, is equally valid in the social field. Experimentation and statistical study in social science have thrown relatively little light upon the group, the institution, and the community in their fundamental processes and causal relationships.

A suggestion which has considerable interest both from the practical and scientific points of view is that we establish the sociological guidance clinic for the unadjusted *group*, *institution*, and *community* as the best technical instrument for study of social functions and social pathologies. Progress by the use of similar methods in the medical and mental-hygiene fields encourages us to believe that the descriptive method combined with adequate analysis holds greater possibilities at the present time for the development of the social sciences as they deal with groups, institutions, and communities than do the application of inappropriate and misleading mathematical techniques of measurement.¹⁸

¹⁸Frederic M. Thrasher, "Some Problems of Sociological Research" (Unpublished manuscript).

Through the cooperation of the Boy Scouts of America, a study begun by E. DeAlton Partridge was carried on by Margaret E. Tilley to determine the nature and extent of boy-scout work in an urban area served by a boys' club unit under investigation. This phase dealt with boy scouting as related to boys' club work in the same district.

Somewhat similar to the study of churches was a descriptive study of social settlements. Caroline W. Leonard made case studies of nine social settlements and community houses in a district served by one of the boys' club units. The methods included direct observation, interviews, and a study of all printed sources available, including annual reports, special surveys, city-wide studies, etc. As in the study of the churches, the insights gained into the life of the community and the social influences playing upon the boys of the area, members of the boys' club and nonmembers alike, were very revealing and constituted an essential supplement to the study of the boys' club itself.

Another important influence upon the attitudes and behaviors of boys is the extent and nature of reading engaged in. A study of this type with reference to the use of the public library was undertaken by Bertha T. Hirshstein. An attempt is being made to investigate a public library serving the same constituency as the boys' club and to discover its rôle in the local community. This has necessitated a study over a period of years of the patrons and types of patrons of the institution and types of books being read. A part of this study is being focused upon delinquents and boys' club members and nonmembers to determine any significant differences in reading interests.

A study closely related to the Boys' Club Study has been undertaken by Marie J. Concistré, who has made a survey of agencies and methods of adult education in the district of a boys' club unit under investigation. Statistics have been gathered with regard to the extent of the work by various agencies and an attempt has been made to check

the list of families in which special adult educational activities have been in progress to determine to what extent they have sons in the boys' club unit. One hundred interviews with families of different types have been carried on in order to determine adult educational needs and activities in such cases.

A very important phase of the Boys' Club Study, all of whose methods are not available for publication at the present time, has been carried on by Leonard Covello, who has had general charge of the investigation of Italian heritages and their interactions with other social influences in several areas served by boys' clubs and boys' work agencies. The purpose of this type of study is to determine the way in which cultural backgrounds condition the success of boys' club and other educational programs. This study has made use of a variety of tests and questionnaires, statistical information, interviews, case studies, the foreign-language press, etc.

Independent of the Boys' Club Study but similar in its general conception is a study of a girls' club. This is important to the Boys' Club Study in its revelation of problems concerning the girls of the area as they are related to boy problems and in relation to the light it will throw upon families which include both boys' club and girls' club members as well as upon families which include boys eligible but not members of the boys' club unit. The following statement has been provided by Annette Perkins, a member of the staff of the girls' club:

Problems of Girls' Clubs in an Interstitial Area

Work on the Boys' Club Study has directed attention towards and helped to develop a study of a girls' club in one of the districts investigated. This girls' club unit was established by the Young Women's Christian Association of the City of New York three years ago following a preliminary study made from April 1927 to December 1928, by its Industrial Department to discover whether the Y. W. C. A. should extend its industrial work to that part of the city. This preliminary study was made in close cooperation with the social agencies in the district who were exceedingly interested from the beginning and unanimously agreed that there was a great need for work

with girls. From the findings of the study, it was recommended that the work be started based on the assumption that the club should be able to help meet the educational and recreational needs of girls in that area.

The total membership of the club over the three-year period is 606, which included an age range for 15 to 24 years. The area as defined by the district from which the girls' club members are drawn includes about 22,400 girls between the ages of 15 and 24. Membership has necessarily been limited by the physical facilities of the club which consist of four medium-sized rooms in a tenement house which is adequate for only small group activity. Provision is made for the use of gymnasium and swimming pool elsewhere.

After three years of experience in the community, the club recognized the many difficulties in trying to build a program without more scientific knowledge of the problems of the girls. Due to the traditional Italian concept of family life, a part of which is strict parental control of the daughter, the latter is not allowed to participate in the social life of the wider community. There arises a conflict between the standards of conduct set up by her family group and those which a girl becomes inevitably conscious of in her contact with the outside world.

The purpose of the present study is to determine what are the problems of these girls and how the club can build its program to meet the resultant types of behavior. It is evident that it is necessary to study the whole girl in the total situation.

The Boys' Club Study has already secured much valuable information concerning the area which not only was used in the preliminary study, but will also be used to supplement the findings of the present study of the Girls' Club, which will attempt to set forth such facts as have not already been covered. These will include materials on certain social facts, community influences, and relationships pertaining to girls and the club.

To discover these facts, a number of case histories of the girls are being collected. Here an attempt is being made to secure the girl's own story of her life in the area. Interviews with parents, girls, and other agency workers will be added. There will also be records of spontaneous expressions and observations gathered by leaders working in the district. The investigation will include statistical and ecological studies of members and nonmembers of the club in relation to delinquency.

A study of housing by Margaret B. Gerard will consider the social implications of housing in a boys' club area. A study of the family status of boys' club members and nonmembers has been undertaken by Edwin L. Huntley.

BOOK REVIEWS

Experimental Social Psychology, by GARDNER MURPHY.
New York: Harper and Brothers, 1931, 709 pages

A résumé of all recent experimental literature relevant to social behavior and the effect of social experiences upon the development of personality. Organized in three parts—basic principles—biology of motives, nature and nurture, learning process in social situations, a genetic study of social behavior—methods of studying social behavior in children, development of social behavior in early childhood, social behavior in later childhood and adolescence; general laws of social interaction—individual in the group situation, cooperating group, an introduction to measurement of personality, social attitudes and their measurement. Hundreds of experiments are abstracted and analyzed. Extraordinarily fine annotated bibliography. An indispensable reference book for all students of the social sciences.

Principles of Guidance, by ARTHUR J. JONES. New York
McGraw-Hill Book Company, 1930, 385 pages.

An excellent discussion of the aims and methods of guidance in the secondary school. Particularly valuable to the average counselor and administrator are the materials dealing with the study of the individual and the organization of guidance. While guidance towards an ultimate vocational adjustment is the central theme, the treatment shows the influence of the broader mental-hygiene conception of guidance. An outstanding book in its field.

The Dissatisfied Worker, by V. E. FISHER and JOSEPH V.
HANNA. New York: Macmillan Company, 1931,
259 pages

An interesting approach to vocational guidance from the mental-hygiene point of view. Analyzes cases of vocational maladjustment, emphasizing the rôle of emotional attitudes and personality traits, considering vocational adjustment as a personality-social situation relationship rather than an aptitude-testing job-analysis problem. Healthy antidote to current emphasis in vocational guidance.

Courses and Careers, by RALPH P. GALLAGHER. New
York: Harper and Brothers, 1930, 404 pages.

Designed to meet the requirements for a junior- or senior-high-school guidance course, with references, notebook assignments, and questions for oral discussion. The lessons are grouped under 99 units: self-development 7, educational opportunities 21, choosing an occupation 9, skilled and unskilled labor 10, agriculture, mining, and forestry 4,

transportation 5, industries 3, commerce 13, government 4, professions 15, homemaking and allied occupations 8

Psychological Service for School Problems, by GERTRUDE H. HILDRETH. New York: World Book Company, 1930, 378 pages.

A manual for the school psychologist, administration of tests, study of individual pupil, diagnostic and remedial work; pupil classification, guidance; records, reports, organization of psychological service, bibliography of books and articles, bibliography of selected tests and scales. An excellent compendium which should be useful to all school psychologists, particularly those who are beginners. One of the Measurement and Adjustment Series, edited by Terman.

Diagnostic and Remedial Teaching, by LEO J. BRUECKNER and ERNEST O. MELBY. Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1931, 598 pages.

The use of diagnostic tests and remedial teaching in the treatment of subject-matter failure. Chapters are devoted to arithmetic, reading, language, spelling, writing, the social studies, character education, and health education. A book that meets a long-felt need, probably the best in its field. One of the Riverside Textbooks in Education, edited by Cubberley.

Administration of Pupil Personnel, by ARCH O. HECK. Boston: Ginn and Company, 1929, 479 pages.

The work of the attendance department and its relationship to educational policy and school program. Among the topics discussed are compulsory education, the attendance department, pupil-personnel records, the school census, reporting to parents, age-grade-progress studies, school failure, school marks, classification of pupils, child labor. An excellent manual for attendance officers and administrators of attendance departments.

Child Health and the Community, by COURTENAY DINWIDDIE. New York: Commonwealth Fund, 1931, 80 pages.

A discussion of four community demonstrations of a child-health program by the Commonwealth Fund (Fargo, N. D., Athens, Ga., Rutherford County, Tenn., and Marion County, Ore.). Of interest to those concerned with public-health programs, and to teachers of health education in training schools and schools of education.

The Diagnosis of Health, by WILLIAM R. P. EMERSON
New York: D. Appleton and Company, 1930, 272
pages

The diagnosis of health and training for physical fitness, with special reference to the college man and to instruction for optimum health in the normal individual. Interesting discussion of family stock and personal history vs. the height-weight table as the basis of interpreting the relation of age-height-weight to health and physical efficiency.

The Social Worker in Child Care and Protection, by MARGARETTA WILLIAMSON. New York: Harper and Brothers, 1931, 485 pages

The third volume of the job-analysis series of the American Association of Social Workers. An analysis of the qualifications for, requirements for, and activities involved in positions in children's aid organizations, children's institutions, day nurseries, and children's protective societies. One of Harper's Social Science Series, edited by Chapin.

Public Health Organization. Report of the White House Conference, Committee on Public Health Organization, E. L. Bishop, M.D., Chairman. New York: The Century Company, 1932, 345 pages

The administration of public health, Federal, State, and local, urban and rural, control of communicable diseases, types of public-health activity and personnel, training of public-health personnel, public-health and other social and legislative programs. Excellent compendium for public-health officers and for university courses in public-health administration and health education. One of the Century series of publications of the White House Conference reports.

Organization for the Care of Handicapped Children. Report of the White House Conference Committee on National, State, and Local Organization for the Handicapped, Kate Burr Johnson, Chairman. New York: The Century Company, 1932, 365 pages.

Trends in the care of handicapped children, history and administration of local public units, State organization—organization and equipment of departments, direct care, supervision of institutions and agencies, educational publicity, interstate problems, the Federal Government and child welfare—services of departments, relationship of national and local agencies. One of the Century series of publications of the White House Conference reports.

Farm Children, by BIRD T. BALDWIN, EVA ABIGAIL FILLMORE, and LORA HADLEY. New York: D Appleton and Company, 1930, 337 pages.

A first comprehensive survey of a rural child population. Environment of farm children—community and home, social and economic factors, rural schools, life of farm children—characteristics of farm children, activities, advantages and disadvantages, physical and mental development of farm children—physical welfare of mother and child, physical condition of school children, mental development, educational achievement, and talents of farm children. Indispensable to State administrators, and to university teachers of rural sociology and rural education.

Religion in Human Affairs, by CLIFFORD KIRKPATRICK. New York. John Wiley and Sons, 1929, 530 pages.

The origin of religious attitudes and beliefs, their forms in early societies, their history and development in the Western world, their change under the impact of modern life. The effect of religion on the individual's personality, on his actions in daily life. The conflict between religion and science—the cultural conflict of values, and the conflict of attitudes within the individual. A sociological rather than theological approach, considering religion as a cultural pattern rather than as creed or dogma. Recommended to all students of religious education and to all intelligent laymen.

Executive Experiences through Activity Units, by LUCY W. CLOUSER, WILMA J. ROBINSON, and DENA L. NEELY. New York: Lyons and Carnahan, 1932, 352 pages.

Teachers concerned with the setting up of an activity program will find this book useful in several ways. Part one deals with the principles underlying the activity program, emphasizing the choice of activities which are based upon the interests and needs of each particular group. Parts two and three deal with a series of activities actually carried on by children, showing the origin of the activity and its development with its opportunities for growth in character, and subject matter, with suggested activities, which might grow from the activity described. Helpful bibliographies close each chapter.

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190 *The Journal of Educational Sociology*

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- Language and Languages*, by Graff New York D Appleton and Company
- Readings in Educational Sociology*, by Payne New York Prentice-Hall, Inc.
- Responsibility*, by Sears New York Columbia University Press
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- Studies in the Dynamics of Behavior*, edited by Lashley. Chicago The University of Chicago Press
- Working Manual for Juvenile Court Officers*, by Riley Chicago. The University of Chicago Press

NEWS FROM THE FIELD

PROGRAM FOR THE SECTION ON EDUCATIONAL SOCIOLOGY OF THE AMERICAN SOCIOLOGICAL SOCIETY AT THE DECEMBER MEETING IN CINCINNATI

I. *First Session*

Chairman, Walter R. Smith, University of Kansas
The Field of Educational Sociology

David Snedden, Teachers College, Columbia University
Research Techniques in Educational Sociology

Charles C. Peters, Pennsylvania State College
Discussion

II *Second Session*

Chairman, Charles C. Peters, Pennsylvania State College
Training in the Uses of Leisure

George A. Lundberg, Columbia University
Attendance at a Negro Elementary School as Conditioned by
Home Environment

Alice L. Taylor, Washington University
Personality Changes in Practice Teachers

Willard Waller, Pennsylvania State College

CONTRIBUTORS' PAGE

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Dr. O. Myking Melhus received the A.B. degree from Augsburg College, the A.M. from the University of North Dakota, and the Ph.D. from the University of Minnesota. His research project at the University of Minnesota, which was published by the University of Minnesota Press in 1929, consisted of an intensive study of the extra-curricular activities of the students in that institution. Dr. Melhus is now connected with the State Teachers College at Maryville, Missouri.

Dr. Nathan Peyser received the B.S. degree from the College of the City of New York and the A.M. and Ph.D. degrees from New York University. He is co-author of *New Progressive Road to Reading* and author of special articles on "The Experimental School," "Standardized Testing," "The Maladjusted Child," "Prevention of Juvenile Delinquency," and "The Re-education of the Criminal."

Professor Arthur J. Todd received the degree of Litt. B. from the University of California and the Ph.D. from Yale in 1911. He has been connected with Northwestern University since 1919. Dr. Todd is the author of the following: *The Primitive Family as an Educational Agency*, *The Scientific Spirit and Social Work*, *Theories of Social Progress*, *Democracy and Reconstruction*, and *Secularization of Domestic Relations*.

Mr. P. Ju Volobner is a Russian author and student of sociology.

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EDITORIAL

The present issue of THE JOURNAL, which has been prepared under the direction of Dr. Frederic M. Thrasher, director of the motion-picture project of New York University, is devoted to a national four-year study of motion pictures, initiated by the Motion Picture Research Council, financed by the Payne Fund, and carried on under the direction of Dr. W. W. Charters, director of the Bureau of Educational Research of Ohio State University and chairman of a national committee of experts in the fields of psychology, sociology, and education.

The first popular publicity given to the results of these significant researches has appeared in the September, October, and November 1932 issues of *McCall's Magazine*. A popular volume synthesizing the findings of the total study is to be written by Henry James Forman. Scientific monographs by members of the research committee are to be published by the Macmillan Company in a series, the first of which is to appear this month.

These studies are significant for education because they are an attempt to determine the effects of a type of informal education that must be reckoned with in any far-reaching educational program, public or private. Schools are already beginning to awaken to the necessity of controlling the motion-picture diet of children through better-

films committees. Local communities are passing ordinances prohibiting certain types of films. A movement is already under way to develop community theaters which shall definitely fit motion-picture diets to the need of different cultural and age groups.

A great contribution of these national studies to social science is the formulation and testing of methods for determining the effects of a type of institution exerting social influence. The organization and methods of these researches in relation to each other are described, therefore, in the present issue of *THE JOURNAL* without an attempt to include conclusions.

The following statement regarding the scientific nature of these studies has been prepared by Mr. William H. Short, director of the Motion Picture Research Council,¹ to whom a great deal of the credit for the successful conclusion of the research is due.

The Motion Picture Research Council (formerly called the National Committee for Study of Social Values in Motion Pictures) originated and promoted the researches described in the articles which follow. The Council is composed of social workers and socially minded citizens (happily including many social scientists) who are interested in the public welfare. A concern they hold in common is that the new motion-picture art shall come into its own as an instrument for creating more intelligent and useful citizens, together with considerable apprehension over the nature and effects of many of the "movies" now being exhibited to children and impressionable adults, constitute the bonds that brought and hold them together in the Council.

When they had organized, they at once found themselves wishing to know all obtainable facts about the movies, movie audiences, and the effects of movies on these audiences. They considered such complete knowledge the only adequate basis on which a constructive program for more socially helpful films could be based. To get it, they were willing to spend patient years of work and waiting.

Although the Council has in its membership many eminent research professors, it is neither organized nor financed to conduct research. It, therefore, turned to research agencies and asked their help in getting the facts it desired. Among the agencies it approached was the Payne Fund.

¹The chairman of the Motion Picture Research Council is Dr. John Grier Hibben, formerly president of Princeton University.

The special interest of the Payne Fund is in influences that mold the lives of children and youth. The Council asked the Fund to make a series of studies covering the influences of theatrical films upon this youthful population. Does the child go to the movies? What does he see when he goes? Does he take in what he sees? Does he remember it? What do the movies do to his sleep, his health, his emotions, his attitudes, his behavior patterns, his conduct? Is there a connection between motion pictures and delinquency and crime? The Fund agreed to make the studies.

The Council told the Fund that it wished to get all obtainable facts in this field and that it hoped they would be absolutely objective, unprejudiced, and authoritative.

As a first step, the Fund created an Educational Research Committee which is described in the article by Dr. W. W. Charters, research director of the committee. The members of this research committee examined the proposed studies with reference to their practicability and parceled out among themselves those they believed could be carried on to successful conclusions.

Carrying out the wish of the Motion Picture Research Council that the research men be put in a position where they would be wholly free to pursue their studies without even a suspicion of pressure, formal or informal, to get predetermined results, the Payne Fund asked the research committee to draw up adequate expense budgets for the several studies. When this had been done, the Fund deposited the monies asked for with the several universities in which the research men were working, subject to their own requisitions. Thus the factor of financial independence was added to that of scientific integrity which, with such men, would in any case have been controlling.

For four years, quietly and without disturbing publicity of any nature, the research men labored on their commissions to obtain the facts. Under the chairmanship of Dr. Charters the committee met annually for a two- or three-day conference in which each man reported his techniques and tentative findings, submitting everything to the criticisms and suggestions of his associates. But in these research conferences criticism never passed into dictation, attempted or implied, and each man went away from the conference to pursue his independent quest for motion-picture facts as free as when he came.

It is on the basis of the findings obtained during this four-year period in this carefully organized, adequately financed, scientific research and in the light of the discussion these findings will arouse that the Motion Picture Research Council in a leisurely and constructive spirit will undertake to formulate and publish recommendations for the helpful development and use of the new motion-picture art.

A TECHNIQUE FOR STUDYING A SOCIAL PROBLEM

W. W. CHARTERS

In the summer of 1928, Mr W. H. Short, director of the National Committee for Study of Social Values in Motion Pictures, now known as the Motion Picture Research Council, proposed to the writer the possibility of securing accurate data concerning the influence of moving pictures upon children. He stated that his organization had been formed by a number of important public persons who were disturbed by the practices and policies of the motion-picture industry and were apprehensive about the harmfulness of the influence exerted by the movies upon the American public and particularly upon the children and youth of the nation. But, he explained, the Council found, when it began to collect evidence to substantiate these impressions and lay plans for the improvement of the motion-picture situation, that the quality and quantity of the data available were not as high as the Council would like to have them. It was not difficult to collect the types of evidence which are ordinarily used in settling social issues—the opinions of thoughtful people, individual experiences, arrays of statistics, and resolutions of important organizations. But most of these data were based upon personal judgment and individual opinion and were, therefore, open to controversy. So the Council had decided, he stated, to ask competent investigators to use the best scientific techniques and, if possible, discover valid answers to certain questions which were of concern to the Council. He, therefore, presented the proposal to assemble persons skilled in using the techniques of sociology, psychology, and education to study these complicated matters, and thereby seek to substitute facts for impressions and convictions.

In the autumn of 1928, a group of university men and

women were assembled in Columbus to see what could be done, and with them met the leaders of the Council and officers of the Payne Fund, which was prepared to support a program of investigation if one should be developed. At this meeting the members of the Council elaborated in considerable detail the issues with which they were concerned and the questions upon which scientific data were lacking. The university group deliberated upon this information to discover the types of investigation which might be carried on, and prepared a tentative series of studies which gave promise of developing scientific information about the issues presented by the Council. The Payne Fund agreed to support the study and the investigators were organized into a Committee on Educational Research of the Payne Fund. Promptly the studies got under way. Each of the investigators worked independently upon his problem. Once a year they met and reviewed what they had done, eliminated studies which gave no promise of yielding results and added studies which looked promising. In 1932 the studies are practically completed and ready for publication, which is now in process.

The administration of the investigation was based upon a central policy—to ignore detailed questions temporarily and select pivotal questions for study which, when answered and arranged in a series, would provide in skeleton form a measure of the influence of moving pictures upon children. Details might then be filled in later without altering the general form of the picture.

In acting upon this policy the committee developed a plan involving four procedures.

The first problem was to assemble a group of individuals (as already described) who were competent to examine a complexity of issues and decide upon the feasibility of setting up a program of investigation. The issues being sociological and psychological, it was logical to assemble a group of sociologists, psychologists, and educa-

tors whose experience in studying the problems which seemed to be involved in this situation was adequate to the task in hand and whose scientific reputation and judgment were good. This group consisted of Messrs. Thurstone, Freeman, May, Renshaw, Stoddard, and Mrs. Charters in psychology, Messrs. Blumer and Park in sociology, Dr. and Mrs. Seham in hygiene and health, and Mr. Dale in education. At later dates Mr. Rucknick in psychology and Messrs. Thrasher and Peters in sociology were added to investigate problems that were essential to complete the series. To this group were added certain assistants to some of the foregoing members who worked more or less under their direction: Messrs. Cressey, Dysinger, Holaday, Hauser, and Shuttleworth. Other assistants attended the committee meetings upon occasion.

In its annual meetings, the members of the committee formulated plans, reported progress, and criticized and assisted each other. Its functions were those of a conference upon technical matters. It made no recommendations. The conclusions drawn by each investigator from his studies are presented upon his individual responsibility.

The second administrative problem of the committee was to examine the problems presented to it in order to find out what they were. This procedure was simple. At the initial meeting of the committee a number of the active members of the Motion Picture Research Council presented the issues in conferences extending over several meetings during three days. These members of the Council who had intimate and first-hand knowledge of the production and distribution of pictures and of the policies and practices of the industry discussed the moving-picture situation in detail with ample elaboration. As the committee listened to the discussion the investigators quickly observed the controversial nature of the issues, the strong feelings aroused by these issues, and the vigorous positions taken by the Council members. At the same time they located

points at which they might provide data less controversial, less subject to opinion, and more valid than the data available to the members of the Council upon those points. The discussions were useful in helping the investigators to locate possible problems for investigation and to orient themselves in the field. They proved to be effective in that the program of study developed by the committee during the initial meetings did not need to be radically changed during the four years that the committee worked upon it.

The third administrative problem was the setting up of the program of investigation. It proceeded along these lines. First, the possible effects of moving pictures as a medium of visual instruction were isolated. It was agreed that moving pictures might affect the knowledge, attitudes, emotions, and conduct of children. These were studies in which the actual content of commercial pictures would be a minor matter, and the effect produced through visual media would be the major consideration. Second, the content of commercial pictures would be examined to see the direction in which information, attitudes, emotions, and conduct would tend to be developed by current pictures. The first group of studies is general in nature; the second deals specifically with the effect of pictures currently shown in the theaters. If the pictures are "good" and if they have any influence the effects will obviously flow in one direction; if "bad" in another. In pursuance of this policy the following studies were assigned:

The amount of information gained by one exposure to a film was studied by Messrs. Stoddard and Holaday at the University of Iowa. Adequate techniques were set up to ascertain how many facts children learned and how long the facts persisted in memory at different ages, beginning with children in the second grade. The significance of the amount required was expressed as the percentage which was acquired by children of different ages of facts learned by superior adults. That is, children in the second grade could answer, let us say, 75 per cent as many factual

questions as superior adults and could remember them 75 per cent as well. This study would, therefore, reveal the extent to which an adult who accompanies an eight-year-old child to a movie may expect the child to see what he sees, and enable him to predict the amount the child would forget in a stipulated time.

The effect of moving pictures upon the emotional experience of children was measured with the use of the electric galvanometer and other instruments by Messrs. Ruckmick and Dysinger of the University of Iowa. In this case it was possible to measure the deflection of a needle as the subjects watched the unfolding scenes in the pictures.

The extent to which moving pictures might be expected to influence the attitudes of children towards various values was studied by Messrs. May and Shuttleworth of Yale University and Mr. Thurstone and Miss Peterson of the University of Chicago. The Yale study used certain techniques developed in the investigations of the Institute of Social and Religious Research for other purposes. These techniques, however, were not entirely satisfactory because it was not possible to find children who had not attended the movies to compare with those who had, and the test of attitude consisted of the answer to a single question.

For the Chicago study the investigators constructed a number of scales following the well-known Thurstone techniques. With the use of these scales it was possible to measure the effect of a single picture upon the attitude of high-school children towards the Negro, the Chinese, crime, and the like. The investigators were able to measure the amount of change in attitude from one exposure. They were also able to depict the persistence of change in attitude after extended periods had elapsed. In a few cases they were able to measure the cumulative effect of exposure to several pictures of the same type.

Having thus cared for the effect of pictures upon the information, emotions, and attitudes, attention was given

to the effect of theater attendance upon the health of children. Originally it was proposed to study the health of children directly, but for various reasons the committee decided to study the effect of motion pictures upon motility in sleep and relate this to the effect upon health through the relationship of sleep disturbance to health. This study was carried on by Messrs. Renshaw and Miller of Ohio State University.

Since conduct is influenced through the acquisition of information, the modification of attitudes, the stirring of the emotions, and the physical condition of people, it may be deduced that conduct can be predicted if these factors are known. However, the committee decided to institute investigations to discover evidences of one-to-one correspondence between the movies and the conduct of children to determine in effect whether the conduct patterns of individual children could be traced to motion pictures which they had seen.

This study was conducted by Messrs. Blumer and Hauser of the University of Chicago. It consisted of two subordinate studies: the effect upon conduct in general and the effect upon delinquency and crime as a special study. The techniques used were based mainly upon autobiographies written by high-school children, college students, delinquents and criminals, and interviews with those who wrote the autobiographies. At New York University Messrs. Thrasher and Cressey, in connection with the Boys' Club Study, investigated by a variety of techniques the same problem of one-to-one correspondence between patterns of conduct seen in the movies and those practised by children.

This group of studies thus presents in objective terms what may be expected to be the influence of the visual presentation of materials upon the experience of children.

The second group of studies dealt with certain educational aspects of commercial pictures currently shown in motion-picture theaters. The first question to be consid-

ered was this: "What do people see when they attend the movies?" The answer to this question was secured by Mr Dale of Ohio State University through an analysis of the content of moving pictures by scenes. These scenes were classified with such captions as crime, cabaret, murder, courage, ambition, and the like. The content of scores of pictures shown during 1931 was examined, and the investigation shows how many of each type of scene are contained in the large sample of pictures analyzed.

The next question logically raised in following the argument through is this: "Are the pictures which people see 'good' or 'bad'?" What constitutes "goodness" or "badness" in a picture was studied by Professor C. C. Peters of Pennsylvania State College. In effect he assumed that the "goodness" or "badness" of a scene was determined by the opinion of the people who judged it. A picture in itself is not "good" or "bad"; it appears good to an individual or a group when it harmonizes or conflicts with the mores of the individual or the group. Consequently, he constructed scales of actions ranging from those which were in serious conflict with the mores of a group to those which were congruent with the mores. This he did for four types of conduct, one of which was aggressive lovmaking by women, and another of which was parental attitude towards children. With this scale at hand he was able to determine the judgment of what was considered to be good or bad by various groups of people such as college professors, young male factory workers, ministers, young society women in New York, and the like.

These standards having been determined, it was possible to view selected scenes in the movies and decide where any one of these groups would place the scene in the scale, or, in other words, to discover whether or not the action in the scene was above or below the level of the standards of a specified group.

Having thus presented the content of current moving pictures and in certain respects having determined

the moral content, the committee was prepared to consider the question "Do many children see these pictures?" The answer to this question was studied by M^r. Dale, who discovered from data collected over a wide geographical area that children of all ages attend the movies on the average of once a week. This having been established, it is possible even to say that children do see the current pictures and are exposed to the scenes as analyzed.

The practical outcome of the study is this: We can be assured that each picture which a child sees has a measurable influence upon him. He learns new facts, his emotions are stirred, his attitudes are changed, his conduct patterns are modified, and his sleep is affected—all in a measurable degree. If the pictures are "good" he will be influenced in that direction; if they are "bad" he will be moved in a corresponding manner. The picture of today helps to mold the citizen of tomorrow.

One means of control over the influence of moving pictures upon children lies in the education of the children themselves in appreciation and criticism of pictures. If children can learn to discriminate and judge the value of pictures they will be less ignorantly influenced. Moving-picture appreciation is, then, one means of control. This problem was studied by M^r. Dale, who has produced a textbook on the subject for use by high-school students to teach them how to understand, evaluate, and criticize the pictures which they see.

In conclusion, the committee members have blocked out an answer to the perplexing question of the influence of motion pictures upon children. They have lifted the argument from the level of controversy and opinion to the level of objective fact, and have provided as a by-product a sample of an interesting technique for resolving a complicated social problem into a logical series of studies, which, when independently investigated, may be meshed into a clear-cut answer to the original question.¹

¹The following articles appear in the logical sequence suggested above. They present in greater detail the techniques of research as evolved in the various phases of the motion-picture studies.

MEASURING THE EFFECT OF MOTION PICTURES ON THE INTELLECTUAL CONTENT OF CHILDREN

GEORGE D. STODDARD

This brief report is devoted to a description of the purposes and methods utilized by P. W. Holaday,¹ under the direction of the writer, in one part of the broad inquiry into motion-picture influences. The restricted purpose was to ascertain the effect of viewing theatrical films under ordinary conditions on children's information and to analyze their comprehension and retention of material.

The original plan called for two approaches: Type X studies devoted to the measurement and analysis of what children learn from the movies, and Type Y studies which attempted to show the *change* produced by this new (movie-induced) knowledge on the general mass of information possessed by the children.

The simplest way to clarify the difference between these two approaches is to insert here a condensed version of the original scheme of attack

Type X, Study A The measurement of factual information gained by children from a particular film

Aims

To discover

- 1 The extent of the children's knowledge of the film
- 2 The curve of forgetting with respect to this knowledge
3. Age-level differences
4. Mental-level differences
- 5 Comparison with adult knowledge of the same film
- 6 The *type* of knowledge most (least) often gained and retained, such as character details, episodes in love scenes, what happened to the "villain," details of setting, customs, names of actors, etc
- 7 The accuracy of the knowledge gained and retained

¹P. W. Holaday. The Effect of Motion Pictures on the Intellectual Content of Children. Doctor's dissertation, University of Iowa, 1930

Method

1. Select stock types of pictures to be used as stimuli, e.g., (a) comedy-drama (love motif predominant), (b) "spook", (c) wild west, (d) South-Sea romance, (e) slapstick comedy, (f) screen version of a classic, (g) war
2. Four or more stenographers are to take down as elaborately as possible all the factual elements in the picture and these notes are to be checked for accuracy and completeness by the research director and his assistants. Probably two viewings of each picture will be desirable.
3. From these records an objective type of information test is to be built. This is given to all the subjects the morning following the movie (without previous announcement of the test). Test items cover in detail such points as the setting, actions, results, scenes, etc., but only from the standpoint of simple content.
4. The test is repeated without warning one week and one month later.
5. All tests are scored and analyzed in accordance with the statements under "aims" above. Types of knowledge are not segregated in the test, but they are in its analysis.
6. The same subjects should be tested on several types of pictures, but with sufficient intervals between "significant" pictures to prevent any preparatory measures on their part.

Materials

1. Objective tests (to be devised) (a) Each test must fall within the reading range of the subjects
2. Intelligence test and school records of the children

Subjects

1. A group of at least fifty children at each age level in each age research unit. (Given the same picture and the same test, units from various sections could be combined.)
2. Suggested age levels: (a) age 8 ($7\frac{1}{2}$ to $8\frac{1}{2}$), (b) age 12 ($11\frac{1}{2}$ to $12\frac{1}{2}$); (c) age 16 ($15\frac{1}{2}$ to $16\frac{1}{2}$)
3. A group of fifty adults: teachers, graduate students, parents

Type X, Study B The measurement of the comprehension and interpretation of a film on the part of children

Aims

To discover

1. The extent of the children's comprehension of the film
2. Temporal changes in this comprehension
3. Children's interpretation of various actions and ideas, (a) extent and kind

4. Age-level differences
5. Mental-level differences
- 6 *Types* of interpretation (a) similar to adults, (b) fantastic, (c) close to intent of the film (if discoverable)

Method

Same as in Study A, but test must be of a different type, and great care must be taken to secure essential agreement among adults as to what the correct (or at least common) comprehensions and interpretations are

Type Y, Studies A and B The measurement of changes produced in children's knowledge (including comprehension and interpretation) by films

Aims

To discover.

1. The extent of revision of factual information in the light of the film
2. Duration of this revision
3. Age-level differences
4. Mental-level differences
- 5 *Types* of knowledge changes, e. g., in new concepts of foreigners, Hollywood, countries, customs, etc

Method

1. A detailed analysis in advance of a film to record all possibilities for new knowledge to be gained from it.
2. A test devised related to the chief points and given to children in advance of attendance at the film. The test is not on the film content, but on the information which is likely to be affected by this known film content.
3. Attendance at the film
4. Retest to discover changes produced (a) next morning; (b) one week and one month later
5. By "change" is meant (a) new knowledge, (b) increased accuracy (or inaccuracy) in old knowledge, (c) lapse of old knowledge
6. Illustrative types of knowledge (a) vocabulary; (b) historical events and persons, (c) film industry and personnel, (d) ways people live; (e) geographical; (f) knowledge of validity of screen events

In the actual prosecution of the research, certain modifications proved to be necessary. For example, it proved infeasible to test the children the day after the show and again one month later with a view to measuring the retention *from the original showing of the films*. The testing

the day after tended to impress the children unduly, with the result that further tests were rendered somewhat invalid. Hence groups were matched on school grade, intelligence, and reading ability. This necessitated rather large samplings of children. In the total Iowa sampling nine hundred observers assisted in one or more of sixteen tests. Extension of the work to Ohio towns in 1930-1931 added substantially to the population, which may be said to represent adequately the large and small towns of these two States. It may be inferred that the sampling is adequate for unselected American-born, white, city school children.

It was found also that, for technical reasons, the true-false type of test does not lend itself well to a study of retention. Perhaps the most unexpected revision of all lay in the necessity for extending the testing up to seven months later in order to carry out the curve of forgetting to points of significant drops. For certain pictures it was evident that no fixed duration of time could be counted upon to erase all mental effects. Finally, the talkies suddenly displaced the silent movies after considerable work had been done and complicated the problem of picture analysis. However, the changes necessitated in this connection may be ascribed to "an act of God."

The machinery of transforming the paper plan of research to a working system within the customary framework of school child and motion-picture exhibitors is not to be viewed lightly. The researcher was compelled to gain access to the films in advance of public showing in a community; to appease the theater owners; to finance children's expenditures; to secure parent and teacher cooperation; to bar automatically intergroup discussion of pictures; to gear up personnel in such a way as to extract, in one showing of a film, all the essential points of setting, plot, characters, costumes, incidents, and conversations.

Pictures were viewed in cities earlier in the booking routine or were "previewed" by special arrangement. Theater owners were cheered by the sale of strings of

tickets (which were later dispensed by the researcher). In many cases admission for the children was secured for five cents. A good rapport was established with parents and teachers in the name of scientific inquiry, although few parents had any objection to movie-going. After a night showing children were examined in school early the following morning, before interchange of ideas would be likely to take place. In the matter of film analysis, the plan gradually evolved from the taking down of everything by expert stenographers to an allocation of subject-matter tasks to experienced observers. These observers often saw the picture two or three times before the notes were assembled.

Questions formulated on the basis of these data were later reviewed by the director of the project. The usual methods of determining reliability were employed and all tests were revised in the light of preliminary findings. Multiple response and completion tests were finally adopted, of which the items below are typical:

Multiple response, specific item (Type X)

The actress who played the part of Betty was (1) Dolores Costello, (2) Ruth Chatterton, (3) Evelyn Brent, (4) Greta Garbo, (5) Myrna Loy.

Completion, specific item (Type X)

The money to start the tearoom was furnished by _____

Multiple response, general item (Type Y)

In England, army officers are usually (1) gentlemen who joined because they needed money, (2) soldiers who were promoted for bravery, (3) soldiers promoted for having been in the army a long time, (4) gentlemen who joined because they liked the life; (5) gentlemen who were forced by the government to join the army.

Multiple-response items were answered by underlining one of the statements; completion items, by writing in the missing word or phrase.

The median reliabilities of the Iowa tests as finally administered varied from .67 to .92. They may be considered satisfactory for short tests designed for group com-

parisons. Attempts to secure valid and reliable essays or reports from the school children proved fruitless. It was shown that laconic "compositions" often concealed an immense amount of actual information which could be elicited by objective testing methods.

In contrast to reliability, there are no "usual" techniques for establishing the validity of a test; that is to say, the extent to which a test really measures what it purports to measure. There were not even precedents in motion-picture material, but the following devices were employed to make test performance mirror the underlying state of affairs:

- 1 Films were checked in such a way as to ensure a spread of questions over the entire picture.
- 2 At least three people observed each picture and contributed to the notes
- 3 Observers read novels from which the movies had been adapted, together with appropriate works in history and geography. In special fields, university experts were consulted. (These precautions apply to the formulation of "general" or Type Y questions; i. e., content which may conceivably be affected by what is seen in the movies)
4. The place of the correct answer in multiple response questions was fixed to give a random distribution. "Trick" items were avoided.
5. Items were placed in ten categories on the basis of three judges, as follows. emotional (except fighting, mystery, romance), humorous, mysterious, revue, crime, fighting, romance, drinking, general conversation, general action. Test time in each category was closely related to the corresponding film time.

A consideration of the findings is not in order here. Suffice it to say that the specific knowledge of children and adults is greatly increased by motion pictures and that their general information is significantly affected by what is seen in the pictures. Retention is high over the period of seven months covered in this project

NOTE *An article by Professor Frank N. Freeman on the measurement of the effectiveness of a film upon the care of the teeth will appear in the January issue of THE JOURNAL.*

HOW DO MOTION PICTURES AFFECT THE ATTITUDES AND EMOTIONS OF CHILDREN?

THE GALVANIC TECHNIQUE APPLIED TO THE MOTION-PICTURE SITUATION

Christian A. Ruckmick

The intrinsic nature of the emotions is such that they can be analyzed best by a sort of flank attack. Historically, this has been made feasible through the well-known fact that emotions produce concomitant bodily effects which in turn can be recorded and measured. Since physiological conditions also produce these effects and since in some cases the effects may be voluntarily initiated or modified, psychologists recently have been concerned with more and more refined techniques and controlled situations in the laboratory.

In view of the advances made in electrical circuits, these studies have largely centered about changes in electrical resistance which the body offers to small outside currents under a variety of circumstances. In some of these experiments the small amounts of electrical discharges from the body itself also have been measured. Scientists are not yet certain just how these electrical discharges occur: the mechanism of their production is still not clear. We feel, however, that they are due principally to the electrochemical action of the sweat-glands which in turn are tied up with the sympathetic nervous system. We know, too, that they are under voluntary control and we have learned to distinguish the effects produced by certain physiological changes and those that are clearly designated as emotional. In the latter case, the electrical manifestation occurs only after a latent period of from 7 to 10 seconds and the form of the manifestation is characteristically different in terms of intensity from other kinds of electrical discharge. This has a twofold significance:

(1) The fact that it is not under voluntary control as is breathing, for example, eliminates errors initiated by the observer; *i. e.*, he can have no direct control over the amount

of deflection manifested by the galvanometer or other electrical registering device

(2) The distinction between emotional responses and other bodily processes, especially muscular contractions when made under normal conditions, does away with a traditional error that has vitiated much of the previous work done by way of the so-called method of expression. Of course, the technique is not yet free from the defect that it is very likely influenced in part by concurrent or antecedent physiological changes. Even fatigue, diurnal periodicity, digestive changes, and a score of other conditions may be disturbing factors.

We are at present engaged in determining the effect of some of these uncontrolled items in experiments that have been going on for some years in our laboratory. They have not yet been brought to a satisfactory conclusion but fatigue versus euphoria already show significant indications as conditions which ought to be taken into account in connection with the emotions. The past history of the expressive technique, together with the results that have been obtained by more recent investigators, are putting us on our guard in our present work and we feel that the results obtained in the research herein described are relatively free from errors of this sort¹

The aim of this particular study was to get some reliable index of emotional disturbances in observers, varying in age from 6 to over 50 years, while viewing motion pictures. All our trained observers and some of the others recorded direct observations describing the type of emotion felt at certain points in the motion picture. But the main emphasis was placed on the amount of galvanometric deflection at various points in the film. We were interested, however, not only in these quantitative results but in psychologizing the whole motion-picture situation. Some

¹C. A. Ruckmick, "Why We Have Emotions," *Scientific Monthly*, 28, 1929, 252-262 (See especially p. 256.)

See also C. A. Ruckmick, "Emotions in Terms of the Galvanometric Technique," *British Journal of Psychology*, 21, 1930, 149-159. Some of the preliminary results concerning extraneous bodily effects, like fatigue, are herein reported. (See p. 154, 159.)

of our main conclusions have to do with the perceptual changes that occur at the different age levels. We are convinced that children under twelve years of age not only do not care for certain types of performance but rather do not perceive these events in the story. On the other hand, adults add a certain critical judgment almost continuously throughout their enjoyment, an attitude which is practically missing in the adolescent group. In other words, we have the well-known phenomenon of the genetic development of perceptual processes. In the lower age ranges, the perceptions are more largely those of sensory reference. In the adolescent group, perceptions are rich enough and sufficiently colored emotionally by the higher cognitive processes of reflections, and criticisms are scarce and relatively irrelevant.

There is another point in which this study departs from previous experimental work on the emotions. In general, the stimulus used has been what might be called a stable one. Each type of situation has been discrete and definite or else a fairly simple stimulus, such as an electric shock or attractive color, was applied. In this case we were compelled to use stimuli that were continuously changing. For this reason definite "reading points" were established; i. e., points at which a major episode, likely to arouse an emotion, began. Accordingly, a detailed analysis, taken in part from the accompanying script and in part from stenographic recording of the conversation when no script was available in the theater, was made in advance of the actual showing of the film. These reading points were consecutively numbered and furnished, as it were, the focal places for the comparison of results, both from observer to observer and from content to content. By a simple signal system they were recorded for later identification on the record obtained from the observer.

Centering our attention then on this particular technique, known as the galvanic reflex, and adding records also from changes of heart rate, we experimented for the

first year and a half under the controlled conditions of the laboratory. For some time before this we had developed satisfactory electrical connections to the observer. The first and third finger of the left hand were taped at the first joint with one-half inch adhesive tape and immersed in a normal NaCl solution in an electrode which has non-polarizable qualities, preventing eddy currents which would interfere with the proper reading of the deflection.² Leads from this type of electrode were carried to the Wechsler photographically recording galvanometer³ which was somewhat modified for our needs. This galvanometer also contained a registering device for the heart rate which was obtained through a special very simple apparatus attached to the arm of the observer.⁴ This device was easily and comfortably worn, adjusted so that it did not offer distracting elements during the performance, and the whole situation was taken for granted by the observer. Again, under the conditions of the theater itself we were not able to follow out the research on the heart rate as thoroughly as we should have liked. In the technique of reading the actual pulse rate, there was also some difficulty in determining just where the crest of each successive wave was to be located. But we made two independent readings of those records that were fairly clear and discovered that one observer ran as high as 166 pulsations per minute, several as high as 150, and a large number around 140, the normal rate ranging about 75 to 80. Another point to be considered here is that we did not dare to expose school children to extremely violent or objectionable films which might have given us much higher rates and many more of them. It must be recalled that school children do very often attend pictures of this extreme sort.

All of our records were taken on Eastman photographic

²C. A. Ruckmick and F. Patterson, "A Simple Non polarizing Electrode," *American Journal of Psychology*, 41, 1929, 120-121.

³Listed and illustrated in the general catalogue of the C. H. Stoolting Co. under No. 24201.

⁴W. H. Grubbs and C. A. Ruckmick, "An Electrical Pneumograph," *American Journal of Psychology*, 44, 1932, 180-181. Since this article was prepared a more compact and efficient form has been developed.

film (No 122), which was mounted inside the Wechsler apparatus and which moved continuously past the recording instrument. When developed it showed a time line in half-seconds, a signal line operated by the experimenter, a galvanometer line giving deflections, and in some of our experiments a record of the heartbeat and breathing. While in many instances the breathing record was photographed, it was not reliable enough for accurate reading. Altogether, some 755 records were made, of which 180 represented results obtained under actual theater conditions.

The laboratory experiments gave us an opportunity also to perfect our technique so that when arrangements were finally made with representative theaters no time would be lost and no disruption would occur. Both in the laboratory and in the theater we were careful to establish normal conditions by getting into rapport with the observers. In most cases the experimental conditions were overlooked by the observer and the picture film was as genuinely enjoyed as under everyday conditions. At the end of the performance the observers were asked such questions as, "What were the exciting parts?" and "How did you like the love scenes?"

Two fifteen-minute exposures were shown to each observer on a single day. Where the picture has two parts these were consecutively shown. The titles of the laboratory picture on 16 mm. film were *Hop to It*, *Bell Hop*, *The Iron Mule*, and *The Feast of Ishtar* (taken from *The Wanderer*). The first is a slapstick comedy with many pseudo-tragic incidents and violent points of physical conflict between the characters. The second depicts humorous events in early railroading, grossly exaggerated with plenty of amusing scenes regarding the train equipment and exciting scenes during an Indian attack. The last features extravagant scenes of oriental luxury, some debauchery, and occasional love-making. Female figures scantily clad, kissing scenes, and Oriental dancing occur throughout.

Four commercial films were selected in the theaters. *Charlie Chan's Chance* is a Scotland Yard detective story featuring police activities, in connection with Oriental characters, and dancing scenes. *The Yellow Ticket* is an exciting series of episodes with scenes laid in Russia and with an attractive Jewish girl as its principal character. Her experiences in obtaining the yellow ticket, a license for prostituting, and her wanderings to a prison, combined with approaches made by men in high authority, constitute a series of thrilling adventures. *The Road to Singapore* contains a number of romantic episodes and dramatic incidents centering around love affairs and intriguing situations which lead to considerable excitement. Some of the scenes are highly suggestive. *His Woman* is laid on shipboard largely, with brawling episodes and flirtations. The main theme centers about a baby who is found in a rowboat, and Sally, on board with a crew of men, who becomes nurse for the baby. After a number of scenes the captain finally marries Sally.

The records taken in the laboratory were from observers obtained in Iowa City largely through the schools, members of the faculty, and friends. Because the patience of the local theatrical managers was exhausted by other researches done here, we had to go to Davenport, Cedar Rapids, and Clinton, Iowa, for new material. In these cities school superintendents, principals, and parents cooperated whole-heartedly with us and managers of large theaters were very generous in their arrangements. In these theaters a seat was prepared, usually in the balcony, but in one case on the ground floor, and the observer saw the pictures at the regularly scheduled performance. A remote position was taken so as not to disturb the remaining spectators. The experimenter sat near the observer and communicated through a signal system to his assistant who was in control of the recording apparatus set up some distance away. No systematic attempt was made to secure direct reports of experiences from the observers in the the-

ater because the physical conditions surrounding the performance would not permit this kind of disturbance.

From the point of view of methodology, this will afford a concise description of the application of well-known laboratory techniques to the concrete situation of a theatrical performance. Since the purpose of these articles is not to give results but only aims and methods, we have withheld for the most part, the definite conclusions which were reached. They show, however, that our methods of approach were quite adequate and, with all due conservative considerations, came out with very tangible results which have already been cited.⁵

MEASURING THE INFLUENCE OF MOTION-PICTURE ATTENDANCE ON CONDUCT AND ATTITUDES

Frank K. Shuttleworth

Out of one hundred children in the junior high schools of large urban centers approximately twenty-seven attend the movies two or more times a week. Seven go three or more times and two go four or more times a week. What are the movies doing to the conduct and attitudes of these children?

When this question was originally raised by the Motion Picture Research Council, the experimentalists at once proposed the following procedure: First, select two large groups of children alike in as many respects as possible, one to act as a control and the other as an experimental group. Second, measure both groups by some objective test of conduct or attitude. Third, subject the experimental group to a motion picture which contains promise of influencing the measured conduct or attitude. Fourth, re-measure both groups and see if the scores of the experimental group have changed more than could be accounted for by chance. The studies by Thurstone of the influence

⁵*McCall's Magazine*, September and October, 1932

of specific movies on specific attitudes constitute an excellent example of the precision of this approach. Given adequate tests and care in handling the actual execution of the experiments, it is obvious that the results are clear and unambiguous: exposure to specific movies either does or does not change specific attitudes.

It was equally obvious, however, that such an approach would fall short of meeting the real issue. The complaint against the movies is not that specific films influence specific conducts and attitudes, but rather that the general run of movies has a generally unfavorable influence. To test the influence of the general run or of a random sample of movies is something very different from testing the influence of a specific movie which has been selected primarily because it promised to exert a certain influence. Further, to measure generally unfavorable or favorable influences would require an enormous range of tests in a field where adequate tests are few and far between. The study conducted by Professor Mark May and the writer was an attempt, in part, to solve these difficulties

Our procedure involved three steps. First, the selection of groups of children who go to movies frequently and groups who go infrequently. Second, the equating of these selected groups for as many other factors as possible. Third, the comparison of the selected frequent and infrequent movie attenders on a wide variety of tests of conduct and attitude. All told 516 frequent and 543 infrequent movie-goers were selected for study from among nearly 6,000 children in grades five to nine. These selections were based on the children's own report of their movie habits. The reliability of these reports is at least .60 and possibly .70. Throughout, the two groups were equated for sex, age, school grade, intelligence, and socio-economic educational home backgrounds. The first comparisons between movie- and nonmovie-goers employed the conduct, reputation, moral knowledge, and attitude test-data collected by the Character Education In-

quiry.¹ Here 102 frequent and 101 infrequent movie attenders selected from among nearly one thousand children were studied intensively. Specially constructed attitude tests were given to 106 movie- and 102 nonmovie-goers and a revision of these tests was given to 308 movie- and 340 nonmovie-goers under conditions which led the children to believe that their responses were anonymous. The revised attitude tests contained 343 test elements which were designed to measure the influence of seventy-one carefully defined attitudes. The test elements consisted of true-false statements, multiple-choice questions, and a wide variety of other devices for eliciting attitudes. The evidence is that children's responses to such questions are to a substantial degree their own independent answers. The analysis of the attitude tests was in terms of the individual test elements. While the reliability of a single test question is not high, averaging only .34, several questions were directed towards each attitude, large numbers of children were involved, and the contrasts between the movie and nonmovie children are extreme.

These procedures yield about a hundred reliable or nearly reliable differences between frequent and infrequent movie attenders which may be grouped into thirty-seven tendencies. With few exceptions the frequent movie-goers make a poorer showing on the conduct tests and display less desirable attitudes than do the nonmovie-goers. The nature of the differences, however, makes it very doubtful whether they can be attributed with any assurance to the influence of the movies. Only four of the thirty-seven tendencies can be traced directly to the movies, while twenty-four may be attributed in part to selective factors. For example, the movie children tend to affirm while the non-movie children tend to deny the following statements. Most policemen torture and mistreat those suspected of crime; few criminals escape their just punishment; most

¹Hugh Hartshorne and Mark A. May, *Studies in Deceit*, 1928, *Studies in Service and Self Control*, 1929, and *Studies in the Organization of Character*, 1930. New York: The Macmillan Company.

Spaniards are impractical, romantic, and love makers; few Russians are kind and generous. Examples of differences which are probably due in part to selective factors are the following. Movie children receive poorer deportment and scholastic marks and are less interested in school, they are less cooperative, less emotionally stable, less honest in school situations while equally honest out of school, they are more interested in cheap reading, in dances, in a thrill, and in fine clothes; they appear to lack inner resources for keeping themselves busy and entertained. Such children would naturally gravitate to the movies. On the other hand, children who are interested in their school work, who are practical and serious minded, and who are busy with other activities simply do not care about the movies. We fully anticipated that such selective factors would be involved. The point of these examples, however, is that diligent search for differences which could be attributed to the movies was meagerly rewarded, while a systematic study of the data of the Character Education Inquiry in which we hardly expected to find differences has revealed many which appear to be due to selection. Instead of measuring the influence of the movies, our results serve almost as well to define the characteristics of children who are attracted by the movies. Probably excessive movie attendance serves to stimulate and aggravate these characteristics, but whether this factor or the factor of selection is more important cannot be determined.

THE EFFECT OF MOTION PICTURES ON THE SOCIAL ATTITUDES OF HIGH-SCHOOL CHILDREN¹

William H. Short

The experiments were carried on to study the effect of motion pictures on the social attitudes of children. The effect of a motion picture on attitude towards nationality, race, crime, war, capital punishment, prohibition, and the punishment of criminals has been studied.

Briefly, the procedure has been to measure the attitude of a group of students by means of an attitude scale or a paired comparison schedule, to show the group a motion picture which has been judged as having effective value on the issue in question, and to measure the attitude of the group again the day after the picture has been shown.

It is quite obvious that a suitable motion picture is the first essential of such an experiment. A suitable picture is one which pertains definitely to some issue such as those enumerated above, secondly, it is one which we can ask high-school superintendents to send their students to see; and thirdly, the picture must be fairly recent and well made so that children will not be distracted by the fashions and photography of the picture. Suggestions of possible films were obtained from a number of sources. The pictures we have used have been chosen by reviewing between six and eight hundred films. By reviewing that number we do not mean to imply that we have seen all of them, but press sheets, which include the advertising copy and synopses of the film, have been obtained from the motion-picture distributors. These synopses are not for publication but are intended to give the exhibitors a fairly good idea of the picture. Consequently they were quite serviceable to us. The pictures which appeared from the synopses

¹This article was prepared by Mr. William H. Short from a more extensive report on the same subject by Miss Ruth C. Peterson and Dr. L. L. Thurstone. The article is largely quoted from this report.

to have possibilities for use in the experiments were seen by a committee of three or four. By this process, films were chosen which seemed to satisfy the criteria given.

The second essential is an instrument for measuring attitude. The paired comparison schedule or attitude scale used in each experiment is given in the report of that experiment. The paired comparison schedules used to measure attitude towards nationality and crime, and four of the attitude scales used were constructed especially for these experiments. The scales which were available and which were suitable for use with the motion pictures chosen were used by permission of the authors.

One of the projects undertaken was the construction of a scale of attitudes towards the motion pictures. We select this to describe the method of constructing an attitude scale.

A collection of opinions about the movies was made, consisting of two hundred fifty-eight statements. These opinions, each of which reflects an attitude towards the movies, vary from statements decidedly in favor of the movies through neutral statements to those very much opposed to the movies. They were obtained from literature on the subject, from conversation, and from direct questioning of subjects whose education and experience varied from that of seventh-grade children to that of graduate students in the university.

Each statement was then typewritten on a separate card. As a preliminary method of eliminating the most unsatisfactory and retaining the best statements as well as to get an approximate idea of the scale values of the statements, the method of equal-appearing intervals was used with a small group of sorters. Twenty-five people, who had some understanding of the method being used and who were carefully chosen to make sure that the directions would be thoroughly understood and complied with, sorted the cards into eleven piles according to the following instructions:

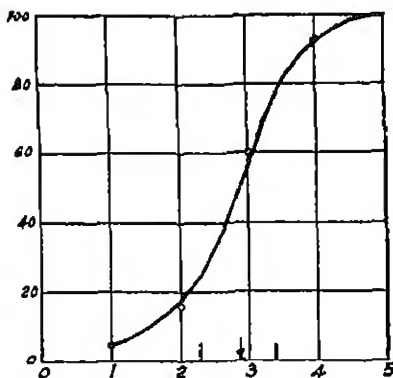
These cards contain statements about the value of the movies. Please arrange these cards in eleven piles so that those expressing attitudes most strongly in favor of the movies are in pile one, those which are neutral are in pile six, and those which are most strongly against the movies are in the eleventh pile. The intermediate piles should represent steps in appreciation or depreciation of the movies.

Do not try to get the same number of cards in each pile. They are not evenly distributed.

The numbers on the cards are code numbers and have nothing to do with the arrangement in piles.

You will find it easier to sort them if you look over a number of the slips, chosen at random, before you begin to sort.

The results of these twenty-five sortings were tabulated to show in which piles each statement was placed by the group of sorters. The scale values were then determined graphically. As an example of the method used one of the graphs is reproduced below.



Statement Number 101, "Movies increase one's appreciation of beauty"

$$Q_1=2.25$$

$$M=2.90$$

$$Q_3=3.45$$

$$Q=1.20$$

The figure represents statement number 101 of the original group which happens to be retained in the final scale as number 12. The graph shows that all the sorters classified the statement as favorable to the movies. The statement reads, "Movies increase one's appreciation of

beauty." The curve crosses the 50 per cent level at the value of 2.9. This scale value is such that half the readers classified it as more favorable to movies and half of them as less favorable.

The scale value is indicated by the arrow head on the base line. The lighter lines on either side of the arrow head indicate the quartile range of values assigned to the statements. The Q-value in this case is 1.10. This is a measure of the ambiguity of the statement.

For the application of a more exact scaling technique one hundred statements were chosen from the two hundred and fifty-eight. The choice was based on the following criteria.

1. A continuity of scale values; *i. e.*, a selection of approximately the same number from each region of the scale

2. Selection of statements with small Q-values

3. Diction and clearness of the statement itself

The average Q-value of the statements retained was 1.18 with a range of .40 to 1.90; while the average Q-value of those statements not retained was 1.44 with a range of .50 to 3.25.

Two hundred sets of these one hundred statements were then printed on three by five cards.

The one hundred statements were then arranged in ten envelopes for rank order sortings. The first envelope contained the fifteen statements most strongly in favor of the movies as determined by the preliminary scaling method. The second envelope contained statements 8 to 22, the third envelope 18 to 32, and so on, the tenth envelope containing statements 86 to 100. Thus it is seen that fifty of the one hundred statements were repeated in two envelopes.

The statements in each envelope were in random order and the envelopes were also put in random order. The ten envelopes of statements were presented to the people who were to sort them with the following directions:

Each envelope in this series contains fifteen cards. On each card is a statement about the movies. Some of these statements are in favor of the movies, and some of them are against the movies. Will you arrange the fifteen statements in each envelope so that the statement which is most in favor of the movies is on top, face up, and the statement which is least in favor of the movies or most strongly against the movies is on the bottom. The cards should all be arranged so that each card is more in favor of the movies than the card under it and less in favor of the movies than the card above it.

In considering each statement ask yourself this question:

How strongly in favor of the movies is a person who endorses or agrees with this statement? Try to disregard your own attitude towards the statements.

The identification numbers on the cards have no significance.

Two hundred people sorted the statements according to the above directions, putting the fifteen statements in each envelope in rank order.

The results of these sortings were tabulated, and from the tabulations we determined the proportion of times each statement was rated as more strongly in favor of the movies than every other statement. From these proportions the scale separations of the statements in each envelope were determined from the formula

$$\frac{b-a = \frac{EX_{ka} - EX_{kb}}{n}}$$

in which $(b-a)$ is the scale separation between a and b .

EX_{ka} is the deviation $(k-a)$ in terms of the standard deviation. It is ascertained from the probability tables by means of the observed proportions $k > a$.

EX_{kb} is the deviation $(k-b)$ in terms of the standard deviation.

n is the number of statements minus one.

Since there were overlapping statements in each adjacent pair of envelopes, the scale separations for the whole set of one hundred statements could be calculated. The final scale values of the one hundred statements ranged from 4.74, the most strongly in favor of the movies, to 0.00, the most strongly against the movies.

The one hundred statements were then divided into ten groups, with a range of .5 scale step in each group. Subsequently four statements were selected from each group, arriving at a final attitude scale consisting of forty statements approximately evenly spaced on the scale.

In scoring the attitude scale we cannot say that one score is better or worse than another; we can only say that one person's attitude towards the movies is more or less favorable than another person's. It is purely arbitrary that attitudes unfavorable to the movies have lower scale values than favorable attitudes.

Any individual's attitude is measured by the median scale value of all the statements he checks. The person who has the higher score is more favorably inclined towards the movies than the person with a lower score.

For the purpose of comparing groups, the distributions of attitudes in each group can be plotted and it can then be said whether and how much one group is more favorable to the movies than another group.

The experimental groups vary in age and grade range, including children of the fourth to the eighth grades, high-school students, and in one experiment, college students. These groups were available through the cooperation of the principals and superintendents of the schools.

The general plan of the experiments was as follows: A scale of attitude was given in the school. After the scale was given the students were told that the scale would be given again after an interval of about two weeks. No direct connection was made between the application of the attitude scale and the presentation of the film. The interval between the first application of the scale and the motion picture varied slightly, but was in general about two weeks. Tickets which were printed especially were distributed in the school the day the film was shown, these tickets were signed by the students and presented for admittance to the theater. By this means, it was possible to have an accurate record of those attending the picture. Only the stu-

dents who took the attitude scale before and after and attended the showing of the film were included in the experimental group. The scale of attitude was given in the school the morning following the presentation of the motion picture.

The experiments include studies of the effect of a single motion picture, on attitudes, the cumulative effect of two or more pictures pertaining to the same issue, the difference in the effect of a motion picture on different age groups and the persistence of the effect of a motion picture.

SLEEP MOTILITY AS AN INDEX OF MOTION-PICTURE INFLUENCE

Samuel Renshaw¹

Inertia is a property of certain aspects of human conduct just as it is a property of mass. Change of environment or occupation is often not enough to stop a process originating from some strong impression, particularly if that impression has been developed to a sort of climax, if it is colored by strong feelings, and if it has engaged the neuromuscular system for a duration that is greater than a certain minimum. It is a common observation that sleep frequently refuses to come after two hours or more spent in some intensive form of work or play which fits most or all of the above specifications. If it could be shown that the context of a motion-picture program is followed by an alteration of the normal dormition or characteristic motility pattern of a child, then sleep motility would afford one method of indicating the nature and extent of the differential effect of various kinds of motion pictures.

It must be borne in mind that a suitable apparatus and technique must be developed so that we may be sure that

¹Collaborating in the conduct of the experiments, the development of the methods, the computation of the data, etc., were Drs. Vernon L. Miller and Dorothy P. Marquis who held Payne Fund Fellowships, and Mrs. Eleanor H. Martin, research assistant.

the effect is not an artifact from some other source. We must alter our method in the light of what experimental experience teaches until we are able to meet, with data capable of answering, all the objections which might fairly be aimed at whatever conclusions seem justifiable from the work. Concretely, we did not know in the beginning of the work what the normal sleep motility pattern was for children of various ages, for both sexes, whether the sexes differed sufficiently to take stock of it, whether diet, season of the year, diurnal activities, childish emotional upsets, etc., would alter the picture. We had to determine by experiment the facts that there are age, sex, and seasonal differences; that each child must serve as his own norm or control, and that to secure a sufficient sampling we must multiply experiments on relatively small groups and thus gain the advantages of checking long-section trends (as the season of the year, etc.). At the same time this procedure gave greater statistical reliability to the obtained figures.

No previous quantitative work had been done on children's sleep motility in the age range of six to eighteen years. No studies had previously sought to use measurements of sleep motility as an indirect method of determining the relative effects of different films upon different children. Those who are familiar with research will readily appreciate the many difficulties where one must shape his tools while he is using them. We had to make each separate experiment yield both cross and longitudinal section results.

Immediately the question arose: Where should we get children for our subjects? For our purposes it was necessary to have access to children where we could have control over diet, work and play activities, hours of retiring, etc. We needed also as complete medical, family, and scholastic histories as possible. It is at once clear that we could not use children at home, for several reasons. What we needed, it seemed, was some sort of an institution which yet was not an institution. This we found,

thanks to the very helpful interest and cooperation of the Ohio State Bureau of Juvenile Research and its staff. There we had at hand children of both sexes of all ages from six to eighteen; we had the needed medical, psychological, and social resources, we had the children living in a regular routine of controlled diet, regular hours for eating, sleeping, bathing, play, study, small duties, etc., which was as nearly ideal as we could hope to have for the purposes of our studies. This distribution of the I.Q.'s of the 170 children who took part in our experiments was about that to be found in any average school population. The children knew they were resident at the Bureau for not more than 90 days—a period of observation and diagnosis preliminary to placement or being sent home. The Bureau is in no sense a custodial institution.

Our apparatus consisted of a polygraph, which is a paper tape recording device, driven by a synchronous motor and carrying 20 pens, each pen being moved magnetically through a circuit from a small device, called a hypnograph, mounted below the springs of each child's bed. The device was so arranged that any shift in the posture of the sleeper would interrupt the flow of current in the circuit and indite upon the tape a mark which indicated the number of breaker points which passed a fixed brush as a result of the movement. While separate movements could be differentiated with respect to magnitude, we found that it was sufficient to regard each minute of the night as an active minute if any movement occurred within that minute. A magnetic device printed a line across the tape each minute during the stay in bed. All these children retired at 9 and arose at 6.

We established the fact that under our conditions 15 successive nights were sufficient to give a stable norm for each child, particularly if the children were given the same bed each night and were permitted to sleep in the beds from three to five nights before any records were taken. They were told very little about the experiments except that they

were to go right to sleep as they would naturally, and that by good cooperation they would be rewarded by some visits to the movies. The novelty wore off in a few days and no difference was noted by the assistant, in constant nightly attendance and observation, between the sleep patterns of those who knew they were sleeping in beds that recorded their movements from those children brought in new and unaware for the first few days of the experiment.

After the "normal" sleep series of 15 or more nights the children were taken to a neighborhood theater, two blocks from the Bureau, between the hours of 6.45 and 8.45 p. m. Ten different experimental groups of children, 10 to 20 in number, were taken to see from 1 to as many as 15 shows consisting of the usual newsreels, comedies, and feature pictures. These varied from the wild west to the most sophisticated dramas. The children were back and made ready for bed at 9 p. m. Our aim was to keep the movie impression as nearly like the ordinary attendance of an ordinary child as possible.

Following the movie series, a second series of "normal" nights' records were taken. Thus each experimental group slept in the beds about 50 consecutive nights. About 170 different children were used in ten experiments, during which time various groups saw 58 different motion pictures.

From the data thus secured we were able to compare the "normal" sleep pattern with that on the nights movies were seen in the evening before retiring, and the first "normal" series could be checked against the post-movie series.

Each group of children was carefully selected so as to secure 10 boys and 10 girls distributed over the age range, and so selected that about all degrees of brightness would be represented.

Several additional experiments were made. Two groups of children participated in two experimental insomnia series, during which the customary sleep ration was reduced from nine hours to six, first by late retiring (midnight) and arising at 6, and again by early rising (starting the new

day at 3 a. m. and retiring at 9 p. m.). Two groups were given coffee and a well-known decaffeinated coffee with the evening meal and again a half hour before retiring and in another part of the work at both times, and the effect noted. Another group was taken for an automobile ride through the city, permitting the children to window shop, etc., for two hours at the same time as the film attendance. In all cases effort was made to keep the daily activities, the health, the diet, etc., as uniform as possible. Special study was made of the records of all children who became ill and were forced to sleep in the hospital during the course of treatment. We used these records to find out if the sleep pattern would show a change before the child showed any overt symptoms of the oncoming illness, such as fever, headache, sore throat, etc. Special study was made by Dr. Miller of the limens of critical frequency for visual flicker in about a hundred cases. These measurements were made in order to ascertain what changes in the reactance of the eye were observable in varying stages of fatigue, and to determine whether pure visual flicker could possibly serve to produce nervousness or restlessness in the children. With all these data we were in position to differentiate the influence of the movie from other controlled variations. The analysis of the large amount of data collected in these experiments furnished us with a large number of new facts which could only be obtained because the methods we used made the intercomparisons from which they were derived possible.

Restful, recuperative sleep is a prime necessity for normal growth and development. The sleep pattern is a rather sensitive indicator of the effect of fatigue-inducing agents. Physiologically fatigue is a form of oxygen starvation, of intoxication. We believe that the apparatus and the methods developed in the course of these studies have many possibilities for use on similar and related problems which have a definite social and hygienic bearing.²

²A more complete appreciation of some of these and a more satisfactory understanding of the methods can be had from a study of the results of the work, which will be made available about January 1, 1933, by the Payne Fund and the Motion Picture Research Council in a volume, *Children's Sleep*, to be issued by Macmillan.

HOW DO MOTION PICTURES AFFECT THE CONDUCT OF CHILDREN?

METHODS EMPLOYED IN "MOVIES AND CONDUCT"¹
AND "MOVIES, DELINQUENCY, AND CRIME"²

Philip M. Hauser

In seeking to throw light on the general problems as to how the conduct of a normal, delinquent, or criminal character is influenced by motion pictures, the personal accounts by individuals of their own experiences were, in the main, relied upon. While it was recognized that more sophisticated techniques of research are available and are of great value for studying many types of problems, the authors felt these methods, although more generally accepted as "scientific" in character, would prove of comparatively little value in furnishing insights on the particular problems with which they were concerned. These studies assume, then, that personal accounts of experience, if secured under satisfactory conditions and interpreted with caution and judgment, are a quite adequate basis for describing and generalizing upon various phases of human conduct.

THE COLLECTION OF MATERIALS

The utmost care and attention were devoted to gaining full cooperation from contributors. For this purpose it was necessary to build up rapport. A very frank statement of the purpose of the investigation was always made so as to avoid the suspicion that the investigator was trying to "get something" on the contributor. Various types of appeals for honest cooperation were resorted to in keeping with the character of the persons being approached. The anonymity of the documents was stressed and, when possible,³ schemes devised to ensure perfect privacy to the contributors in describing intimate and confidential experiences.

Motives for cooperation were furnished where neces-

¹By Herbert Blumer

²By Blumer and Hauser

³See page 232 for footnote

sary or possible and their nature varied with the groups. Students, for instance, were motivated to write full accounts because their papers were graded and credit was received for them. Incarcerated delinquents or criminals occasionally were more eager to cooperate because of small favors, such as bringing them library books, furnishing them with cigarettes, etc., that were rendered them.⁴

It should be remembered, however, that in the cases of many persons no further motivation than the opportunity to relate their experience is necessary. The "stranger" relationship,⁵ existing between investigator and subject, frequently was an important factor in the securing of full and reliable life histories; and in the institutional situation in which most of the materials for the delinquency and crime study were secured, the writing of a motion-picture autobiography was frequently welcomed by the inmates as a dual opportunity to give vent to pent-up feelings and confide in some one, and to break the monotony of institutional life.

TYPES OF PERSONAL ACCOUNTS

The specific motion-picture life history, the personal interview, accounts of conversations on motion pictures, and questionnaires are the various types of personal accounts employed in these studies.

The specific motion-picture life history differs from a general autobiographical account in that the narration by the individual of his experiences is limited to a description of his behavior centering around the motion pictures. From

⁴Professor Blumer devised the following scheme and used it with considerable success in securing documents from students:

The students of a class chose a small committee of their own who assigned to each student in the class a code number. To prevent the teacher from identifying the author of the documents, they were turned in under their code numbers. The teacher gave credit to those documents which showed signs of having been seriously written, turned back to the committee a list of the code numbers with the accompanying credit given, and received from the committee a list of the names of the students with the credit given. In this way the committee alone knew the names of the students corresponding to the code numbers, yet the committee had no opportunity to read the papers. Each document came to the teacher as anonymous yet each student received credit for his or her work." Blumer, *Movies and Conduct*, p. 7 (MS).

⁵The possibility of too much motivation resulting in the "dressing up" of documents was borne in mind and this problem will be dealt with in the section on devices and safeguards for ensuring reliability.

⁶See Simmel, "The Sociological Significance of the 'Stranger,'" Park and Burgess, *Introduction to the Science of Sociology* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1924), p. 322.

preliminary exploratory documents which were received recurrent experiences were itemized and used as a basis for the construction of guidance sheets submitted to later contributors. It is important to note, however, that the writers of the documents were not rigidly bound by the guidance sheet form which was suggestive rather than limiting in its character.

This restricted type of life history was used for two main reasons. In the first place, through focusing the attention of the writer on that sector of his experience in which the investigators were interested, a fuller and more valuable account was secured without great loss of spontaneity or freedom in the narration, and secondly, the full materials in a large number of documents made possible the statistical tabulation of recurrent experiences.⁶ Through this type of specific life history it was possible to gather mass data and itemize recurrent experiences in a way the general autobiography does not ordinarily permit.

Personal interviews were conducted, in most cases, as follow-ups on motion-picture life histories. These interviews were usually an hour to an hour and a half in length, and a full stenographic account was taken. The subject had full knowledge of the presence of the stenographer who, however, was placed at some point behind the subject so as to be out of his range of vision. The interview frequently took the form of a free exchange of experiences, the interviewer talking of his own experiences as a means of inducing the subject to talk freely of his. Since no fixed set of questions was followed, this material secured does not lend itself to statistical tabulation. It has proved quite valuable, however, for illuminating the more intimate effects of motion pictures.

Another method of securing information used mainly in *Movies and Conduct* was the collection of conversations

⁶These statistical tabulations, since they are based only on overt statements appearing in the accounts, represent a minimum statement of the frequency of given types of influence. The failure of the writer to mention given influences does not necessarily mean they have not appeared in the behavior of the person.

on the subject of motion pictures. These accounts, wherever possible recorded immediately after the conversation in order to assure reports as nearly verbatim as possible, were almost always secured by participants of the groups engaged in the conversations. The purpose of this form of investigation was to secure as natural a picture as possible of the kind of conversation which ordinarily goes on concerning motion pictures. It was felt the content of these conversations would in some sense reflect interests and attitudes and could serve also to show how, through such discussions, an individual may be led to particular interpretations of motion pictures.

Ordinarily these accounts were collected by individuals working in pairs and seeking in this fashion to supplement each other. The reporters were instructed not to give any intimation to their groups that they were engaged in recording the conversations which went on. This precaution was taken in order to prevent the introduction of artifice into the remarks of the group.

Finally, in addition to the use of the motion-picture autobiographies supplemented by interviews and accounts of conversations, a considerable amount of material was collected through the use of direct questionnaires. These schedules, in the main, were devised on the basis of recurring items of experience discovered in the motion-picture life histories. They were employed largely to ascertain approximately what proportions of given populations were influenced in given ways and the tabulated results were inserted into the reports only when the life-history materials clearly showed the presence of given types of motion-picture influences in the experiences of individuals.

RELIABILITY OF ACCOUNTS

Questions invariably arise as to the truthfulness and reliability of personal accounts of experience. In these studies great care was taken to give the contributor no reason or opportunity to falsify his document, and several ways of checking reliability were employed.

When the subject was first approached special effort was made to impress him with the impartial character of the investigation. He was specifically told the interviewers were not interested in either tracing or denying a relationship between the motion pictures and various forms of conduct of a normal, delinquent, or criminal type, as the case might be. The contributor was asked to present as honestly as possible only those motion-picture experiences he could trace with confidence. They, in the main, had no more reason to affirm than to deny motion-picture influences. This is substantiated by the fact that a large part of the materials collected were of a negative nature. Moreover, the contributor was asked to describe in great detail specific incidents, episodes, or experiences of a concrete character. Only the narration of these specific instances of behavior was regarded as factual in these studies. General expressions of opinion or judgment were not regarded as data and were presented only for what they might be worth.

Several checks on the reliability of the accounts were employed in these studies. In the first place, it was possible in a number of cases to compare the document written by the individual with the statement of his experiences secured later through personal interview. At the time of writing their documents, the subjects had no intimation of the possibility of a subsequent interview covering their motion-picture experiences. It is assumed that the interval of six months elapsing between the two was sufficient for the individual to forget any fictitious or false incidents which he may have given in the autobiography. In no instance was there discovered any discrepancy of importance between the experiences related in the document and those in the interview.

The accounts were also checked for internal consistency. In a few, numbering less than twenty, there was evidence of contradiction in the experience given. These documents, accordingly, were not used in these studies. All of the

THE SOCIAL ROLE OF MOTION PICTURES IN AN INTERSTITIAL AREA

Paul G. Cressey

The motion-picture project of the Boys' Club Study¹ was first conceived by Dr. Fiederic M. Thrasher, director of the Boys' Club Study and of the motion-picture project, as presenting an excellent opportunity for a unique study of the influence of motion pictures upon behavior problems. The project was undertaken primarily because it would be significant to determine the rôle of motion pictures and motion-picture theaters in a delinquency area of a single community where the interrelationships of movies to other influences and to the whole community complex could be investigated. Thus it would be possible to avoid some of the fallacies of a segmental approach to an institution which can best be understood by studying its patrons in their intimate social backgrounds.

The fact that the community chosen for study was an urban area, parts of which were characterized by relatively high delinquency rates, offered an excellent opportunity for a specific study of the influence of motion pictures upon truancy and delinquency. More important, however, was the fact that the area available for the study was a district served by one of the boys' club units which was to be investigated most intensively.² The focusing of both studies in the same area made available to the motion-picture project a vast mass of pertinent data concerning juvenile motion-picture patrons and all phases of community life which otherwise would have been unavailable without prohibitive expenditures.

The motion-picture project at New York University,

¹The whole of the September issue of THE JOURNAL was devoted to the methods of the Boys' Club Study of New York University. An article on "Related and Subsidiary Studies" appeared in the November issue. The Boys' Club Study of New York University was financed by a gift of \$37,500 by the Bureau of Social Hygiene. The motion-picture project of the Boys' Club Study was financed separately by the Payne Fund.

²By the Boys' Club Study of New York University.

therefore, has certain essential characteristics which distinguish it from others in the series. As has already been stated, it is, in the first place, focused upon an area about which there is already available a vast amount of data, including information regarding boy life in the district, the institutional opportunities for play and recreation, informal play life and gang activities, as well as detailed factual data about thousands of individual boys.

Secondly, it is possible, perhaps, for the first time in motion-picture research, to study the child in his natural setting. Instead of considering him apart from the social world of which he is a part, an attempt is being made to study him and his picture habits and attitudes as a part of his normal social world. He is not scrutinized *in vacuo* but is seen as a dynamic personality interacting with the host of influences and social forces which constitute his normal social *milieu*.

Thirdly, the methodological difficulties of a complex problem often arising through an emphasis upon but one or two approaches are in part obviated through a multiplicity of methods. At least twenty different methods or techniques have been used in this project. The validity of inferences from any one or two approaches is thus tested by these other methods.

It is also significant, in the fourth place, that the New York University study is focused upon overt behavior as well as upon attitudes. Research is thus able to proceed upon the basis of objective facts; *i. e.*, the delinquency record and similar data regarding overt behavior. The study of social attitudes, conceptions of life, and philosophies of life occupies a significant place in this research, to be sure, but the inferences which can be drawn from a study of attitudes are supplemented by data on overt behavior.

Finally, it is a basic premise of this project that the research sociologist in his study and use of individual cases can well afford to avail himself of the techniques and skills of other experts, especially those of the psychologist, the

psychiatrist, and the physician. Representing distinctly different training, approaches, and premises, these specialists are able to supply not only much additional insight of value in individual case studies, but also the means for discriminating in part between the atypical case due to hereditary physiological or mental factors and the one which would seem to represent more clearly sociological forces.³ Efforts were made in this study to correlate the work of psychiatrists and physicians wherever possible; and psychological tests were made available⁴ for individuals upon whose case records primary emphasis was placed.

The methods used in this study represent statistical, ecological, and case-study techniques. Through the use of the Hollerith technique⁵ the frequency of motion-picture attendance for a large number of boys living in the area of special study is being related to delinquency records, membership in the boys' club and other recreational institutions, school records, use of the public library, and to social data concerning the boys' families. The preferences of fifteen hundred boys in their choice of photoplays, of favorite actors and actresses are also being related to other data concerning them. The location of each motion-picture theater in this area is being studied with reference to the residences of its patrons and the other ecological and social forces in the community. Photographic studies of theaters, of their methods of advertising photoplays, and of play activities being carried on in close proximity to motion-picture theaters are being developed to complete the picture of the social rôle of the movies.

The major emphasis, however, is being placed upon various techniques which represent in general the case-study approach. In the rôle of a participating observer, Dr R. L. Whitley has made extensive studies of sixty or more

³For a further development of this point of view, see the articles by R. L. Whitley, "The Case Study as a Method of Research," *Social Forces*, May 1932, and "Case Studies in the Boys' Club Study," *The Journal of Educational Sociology*, September 1932.

⁴Pauline P. Tripp, psychologist of the New York House of Refuge, cooperated in the administration of these tests.

⁵See Irving V. Sollins, "The Hollerith Statistical Method," *The Journal of Educational Sociology*, September 1932.

delinquent or truant boys^a In each of these case studies there was an attempt critically and carefully to relate the motion-picture theater and the photoplay experience of the boy to the rather complete picture of his life which was obtained. Another approach involves the use of the life-history technique with delinquent and nondelinquent boys In addition to the written life history, a new technique was developed boys were asked to dictate their life histories and their impressions about life, motion pictures, and motion-picture actors to a dictating machine

While the case-study techniques recorded above have been utilized with profit, it was early recognized that this study would require other methods as well. A distinct effort was made to relate the research not only to attitudes and to impressionistic reports in the life histories of the individuals, but also to overt behavior and to an analysis of comparable groups of delinquents and nondelinquents.

The "controlled-interview" technique, devised and instituted by Dr. Thrasher, is one of several methods developed to meet this requirement. The time required for recall; the extent to which individual boys can recall the names of photoplays, of actors and actresses seen; the content of the boy's "story of the picture", his account of the "best picture ever seen"; his preference as to type of pictures, of actors, and of actresses is recorded and related to his conduct record. This method for the comparative study of the effect of varying motion-picture experience is regarded as more promising than the study of groups of children manifesting different frequencies of attendance in which reliability depends upon the report of the child The conceptions of types of life usually pictured in the movies, but infrequently experienced by city boys, are also related to the conduct record of each boy. A standardized interview schedule and interview situation have been maintained. The chief purpose of the controlled interview method is to compare and contrast the motion-

^a*Op cit.*

picture experience as recorded in the interviews of fifty delinquents with those of fifty nondelinquents.

Another productive method is one which studies not only overt conduct, but even definitely criminal behavior. This involves the cautious use of properly trained and very carefully selected investigators who are able to keep in touch with delinquent groups, with antisocial gangs, and to report upon instances in which techniques of crime or of exploitation or antisocial schemes of life seen in motion pictures have been used by members of such groups in their criminal activities.⁷ Thus, conversation of individuals about their antisocial activities and descriptions of their mannerisms, their characteristic verbal expressions, and their ways of rationalizing their conduct have been assembled and related to motion-picture patterns. In this way it has been possible to discover instances in which personality patterns and schemes of life can be seen in terms of either a "good" or a "bad" influence of certain motion-picture experiences.

The attempt to conduct exhaustive socio-analysis of a sampling of the cases of boy delinquency found in the area represents another effort to get at the problem through an emphasis upon overt behavior. Through the courtesy of the officials of institutions for delinquents it was possible to make sociological examinations of approximately seventy-five boys from the area of special study and to collate with them psychological tests and, in many cases, examinations and diagnoses by psychiatrists. The social case records of each boy's family, his school and institutional record, and all other data concerning his neighborhood were summarized. Psychological tests were administered and one or more interviews of an hour and a half or more in length were conducted with each boy. A unique factor in these interviews has been the use of exceptionally well-qualified men stenographers⁸ to "sit in" and to

⁷All data, of course, are confidential and are not to be used in such a way as to make possible identification of persons.

⁸Through the cooperation of the Emergency Work Bureau of New York City.

make a verbatim record of each of these interviews. These records, plus the special reports of the psychologist and consulting psychiatrists, constitute the basis for the interpretations which will ultimately be obtained through this method. In each of these interviews an effort was made not only to see the total delinquency pattern of the individual, but also to perceive the exact rôle of the photoplay and the motion-picture theater in problem behavior.

As a corollary to this method it was thought advisable for comparative purposes to use the same procedure in following up outstanding cases outside the area of special study, but within the larger urban area, in which it *had been reported* that motion pictures were considered a prime factor in delinquency. Thus, newspaper items and the reports of social workers, teachers, and school officials were used as a means for locating pertinent cases in which it had been thought that the movies contributed to delinquency.

An intensive study was made of nineteen selected photoplays and of the reactions of boys and young men who had seen these pictures to the photoplay, to the actors and actresses, and to the ideas conveyed by these pictures. Two hundred and thirty-seven interviews, each lasting over an hour in length, have been conducted in this way by especially trained interviewers, well versed in the plots of the photoplays upon which they were specializing. Complete stenographic records of all these interviews have been prepared for comparison and summarization. Finally, group interviews with several boys upon a number of photoplays have been conducted and a verbatim record of all of these has been made by the stenographers.

The present task confronting the motion-picture project of the Boys' Club Study is the synthesis and interpretation of the numerous and varied data now in hand and the eventual addition of any further data necessary for filling in "blind spots" in the total picture. It is expected that this phase of the project will continue until July 1, 1933.¹

¹Some of the preliminary findings from the research will be published in the April, 1933, number of THE JOURNAL under the title "Motion Pictures and Juvenile Delinquency."

METHODS FOR ANALYZING THE CONTENT OF MOTION PICTURES

Edgar Dale

The purpose of the study described in this report is two-fold: First, a method was devised for analyzing the content of motion pictures, and second, this method was used to analyze the content of typical motion pictures. It is the specific purpose of this article to describe the methods used for discovering the content of motion pictures.

A series of criticisms of and claims for theatrical motion pictures have been made which cannot be answered until studies have been made of motion-picture content. There is the charge, for example, that certain fundamental areas of human concern are not treated at all in motion pictures. It is further charged that there is preoccupation with certain areas of human living—a preoccupation which is wholly unjustified and sometimes harmful. A second type of charge is leveled at specific content within the motion picture. Some maintain that certain fine ideals of human living are consistently portrayed by current motion pictures. Others declare that the motion pictures are almost entirely preoccupied with the depiction of crime; the approval of race prejudice; the covert and sometimes explicit approval of sexual impropriety; and frequent display of vulgarity. These same persons maintain that, in general, the content of such motion pictures not only has a harmful effect upon Americans but also puts us in an unfavorable light abroad. A study of the content of motion pictures makes it possible to secure evidence on these disputed questions.

The only way we can know the effective content of a motion picture is through the responses that individuals make to it. Because of a common background of experience most individuals will react very similarly to certain images which they see on the screen. This agreement among individuals as to what they see on the screen represents the common denominator of communication. So, within cer-

tain limits, there will be a series of reactions to a screen story which differ very little among individuals. We have used the word *content*, therefore, to cover the common reactions which we should expect typical individuals to get from a motion picture. It is true that if we wished adequately to analyze all the effective content of motion pictures it would be necessary to sample progressively the reactions of all possible viewers until we had reached a point where no significantly new reactions occurred. This it was manifestly impossible to do. Highly specialized reactions to motion pictures such as might be made by a specialist in the field of photographic art are therefore not included in our study.

It is evident from the nature of the charges mentioned above that two types of analyses of content are necessary. The first is a study of the general themes or the areas in which motion pictures have been developed. The second is a type of analysis which describes verbally, with much precision and detail, the content of a motion picture. A survey of the literature quickly disclosed that this evidence had not yet been secured and that analyses of the general and specific type were necessary.

The methods used to analyze films for their general themes must depend, of course, upon the type of evidence available regarding such content. The ephemeral nature of the motion-picture film makes it impossible to view the motion pictures of past years to discover their content. In many cases the films are not available and positives would have to be printed at a cost that would be prohibitive for the purposes of this investigation.

Our source of information concerning the pictures which had been produced during these years was Harrison's Reports,¹ a reviewing service to exhibitors, which furnishes a short account of the story of the film and a statement of its probable box-office value. The accuracy of these stories was validated by comparing them with other writ-

¹Harrison's Reports, 1440 Broadway, New York, N. Y.

ten accounts and by verifying those accounts of motion pictures which the investigators had viewed. We decided to make our study one of the general content of 500 feature pictures produced in 1920, 1925, and 1930. This represents the total output of feature pictures released in these years by the major producing organizations.

Our next problem was to discover the classes into which these pictures might logically fall. We adopted for this purpose what might be termed a common-sense classification; in other words, a classification which is similar to that which lay adults commonly use for the description of motion pictures. Our tentative examination of the stories showed that they grouped themselves into the following classes: crime, sex, love, mystery, war, children, history, travel, comedy, and social propaganda. Subclassifications were drawn up under each of these categories; first, in order to assist the classifier, and second, in order that further data might be gathered concerning the content of the motion picture. These subclassifications were given a number and were checked in the appropriate column of the data sheet. The symbols A and B were used to designate those films where the reviewer felt that there was not only a major theme but also a strong minor theme. No attempt was made to discover the objectivity of these subclassifications.

Does this method of classification yield uniform results when utilized by trained workers? To test this out we took 100 sample reports at regular intervals from each of the three groups of 500 pictures. The reviewers were asked to use the instructions prepared and classify them according to their best judgment. We discovered that in the 1920 movies there was perfect agreement among the three readers in 87 out of 100 pictures when classified as to type; e. g., crime, sex, love, and so on. For the 1925 pictures there was perfect agreement in 86 cases out of 100, and for the 1930 pictures there was perfect agreement in 88 out of 100 pictures. This is a perfect agree-

ment of approximately nine cases in every ten. The technique was therefore considered satisfactory for our purpose, namely, to classify motion pictures according to the main types set up by us. The evidence as to the number of pictures of each type is, therefore, indisputable within the limits given.

The analysis just described is valid for presenting the major themes or leading ideas with which motion pictures are concerned. It is not valid for answering many of the critical questions which sociologists and others are asking concerning the content of motion pictures. For this detailed analysis we viewed one hundred and fifteen motion pictures at the theater. The steps followed in this analysis were these:

- 1 A canvass was first made of the safeguards which are necessary to ensure fidelity of report when observers are used. Whipple's suggestions for such safeguards² were carefully heeded. He states³ that "if the expectant attention is properly directed, however, the efficiency of observation is greatly increased." This precaution was observed in this fashion: First of all, the observers familiarized themselves with the story before they went to the theater. The motion-picture reviews in the daily papers usually gave such an account. Reading the story before reviewing the picture gave the investigators a frame of reference, a schematized outline which made it possible for them to grasp easily what occurred on the screen. Second, each observer carried a schedule of points on which to secure information. This schedule included the critical areas in which we desired information and had been worked out in cooperation with the observers. Further, three observers were used on 75 of the 115 films reviewed by this schedule.

The schedule was developed in this fashion:

All available literature dealing with favorable and unfavorable criticisms of theatrical motion pictures was read with a view of determining the positive and negative values

²*Psychological Bulletin*, XV, 7 (July 1918)

³*Ibid.*, p. 228

which have been stated for such motion pictures. An analysis schedule was developed based on a classification of these possible values and detriments. The major headings in the final form of this schedule sheet are as follows.

SOCIAL VALUES IN MOTION PICTURES

- I Nature of American Life and Characters
- II. Nature of Foreign Life and Characters
- III. Motivation of Characters
- IV Emotion Appeals to Audience and Methods of Making Them—The "Kick" of the Movies
- V Crime, Delinquency, and Violence
- VI Relations of Sexes
- VII Military Situations
- VIII Depiction of Underprivileged Peoples
- IX Deportment, Language, Manner and Tone of Voice, Type of Dialogue and Song

Each of these categories was further subdivided. The subdivisions used for Category No 1 follow:

- I Nature of American Life and Characters
 - A. Home
 - B Education
 - C. Religion
 - D. Economies
 - E. Agriculture
 - F. Industry and commerce
 - G. Civic life
 - H Recreation
 - I Social conventions
 - J. Clothing conventions
 - K. Narcotics and stimulants
 - L Law enforcement
 - M. American men
 - N American women
 - O. American youth
 - P American children

Each of these subcategories was further divided by a series of points; e. g.:

Industry and Commerce

Pay special attention to the following points

1. The nature of the portrayal of industrial and commercial activity
2. Goals of characters engaged in industrial activity
- 3 Methods of distribution of goods
- 4 Nature of portrayal of owners and workers
- 5 Nature of the management of industry

The reviewer was expected to note descriptive details in the picture which dealt with these points. It is evident that from these data we shall be able to draw inferences concerning critical questions such as these: Do theatrical motion pictures acquaint the viewers with the major problems of industry and commerce? Do they show industry as democratically or autocratically managed? Are workers shown as thoughtful, independent, and self-respecting, or as thoughtless, dependent, and obsequious? Are the problems of the coal, cotton, and wheat industry realistically portrayed or are motion pictures entirely free from problems that beset American industrial civilization?

2. Accuracy of report was further ensured by following a second warning of Whipple's, e. g.: "Whenever any interval of time elapses between the actual carrying out of observation and the recording of it by word or gesture or pen, the accuracy and completeness of the record tends to be reduced by errors of memory"⁴ Each observer recorded at the theater the pertinent material which he was seeing on the screen. He occupied a seat near a light and it was possible in this way to make satisfactory notes. These notes were written up either that day or the next. Even with these precautions, minor errors were discovered. This situation was met, in part, by observing a third canon set up by Whipple. "When a number of persons report upon the same matter, those details upon which agreement appears may in general be considered as correct"⁵

An analysis of this type makes possible the answering of many important questions concerning motion-picture content. Its deficiency lies in the fact that it does not make available the total context in which each of the situations occurred. We felt, further, that we needed a number of accounts which would present almost completely the entire range of content in a motion picture in the context of the narrative itself. To that end, we secured from the

⁴*Op cit*, p. 233

⁵*Ibid*, p. 234

producers dialogue scripts and used them in our analysis of 40 motion pictures. The script contains all the dialogue and enough of the settings and action to give each bit of dialogue its proper chronological order. The observers for these 40 motion pictures were all trained stenographers and the schedules were used as before. What the observers now did was to:

1. Familiarize themselves with the dialogue script before attending the motion picture.

2. Attend the film and take stenographic notes of all materials not included in the dialogue script. This consisted of detailed descriptions of settings, clothing worn, gestures, intonations and facial expressions of characters, approximate age, economic levels, and so on.

3. Immediately write up the picture in the form of a running narrative based upon a combination of the dialogue script and stenographic notes, every change of scene being carefully indicated. These reviews will average approximately 40 double-spaced typewritten pages each.

Of the 40 pictures thus reviewed, 27 were viewed by two or more trained observers, the remaining 13 being viewed by one trained observer who had been the research assistant throughout the entire experiment.

The final results of this investigation as far as methodology are: (1) a reliable technique for the classification of motion pictures according to major theme, (2) a schedule sheet by means of which critical information about motion pictures can be secured by trained observers, and (3) a technique for highly detailed film analysis.

The technique for evaluating motion pictures according to major theme was applied to 500 feature pictures in each of the years 1920, 1925, and 1930. The schedule sheet was applied to 75 motion pictures and their content determined through this method. And finally, a highly detailed narrative account was secured through the application of this schedule sheet to 40 additional motion pictures.

THE RELATION OF MOTION PICTURES TO STANDARDS OF MORALITY

Charles C. Peters

There has been a vast amount of argument regarding the extent to which commercial motion pictures are in conflict with our standards of morality. Many persons have *been charging the movies with "the vilest and the most insidious immorality,"* while a few others have condemned them on the ground that they are as timidly conventional in morals as were the old-time Sunday School library books. In this agitation neither side has been able to appeal to objective evidence, either as to what constitutes morality or as to the amount of conflict by motion pictures with it if defined. On the contrary, the discussion has been emotionalistic and propagandist in character and has turned upon each individual spokesman's personal interpretation of what constitutes the demands of morality. This study was conducted to get objective evidence on this question of the exact nature and amount of divergence of conduct in commercial motion pictures from moral standards so that the formulation of social policies regarding the matter might be predicated upon fact rather than upon passion.

At first thought "morality" may seem to be so vague an entity that it could not be studied objectively. On the contrary, it is something very definite and tangible. Morality is merely conformity with the mores of the group, and the mores are merely the ways of acting and evaluating to which the group has become accustomed. Because the members of the group have become so completely habituated to these ways of acting and judging, these habits function so facily that men feel at peace when performing them and emotionally disturbed and self-conscious when breaking them. This contentment on the one hand, and disturbance on the other, early developed into bases of rationalized judgments of values, so that acts are called

"right" when they conform with the customs and "wrong" when they conflict with these customs. To reduce "morality" to definiteness, we need, therefore, merely to determine what these mores, these customs, are

But when we enter upon this task, we find considerable complication for a number of reasons:

- 1 The mores are very, very many—thousands in number. The group has its made judgments on every type of conduct that is sufficiently recurrent to have led to habit formation. Moreover, the method of response is determined not merely by the situation abstractly considered, but by the balance among the conditioning factors that constitute the situation. When these variants within the types are added to the manifoldness of the types themselves, it is obvious to what vast numbers the individual mores must mount. Moreover, in this delicate balance of conditioning circumstances, accident, particularly the suggestion of members of the group with more or less prestige, may determine the response of the group in a different direction from what it would have been had this accidental component exerted its force in another direction.

2. Opportunities to make precise observations of responses under perfectly typical conditions may be rare. Observations may need to be too few to ensure reliability, or may need to be taken in artificial forms which destroy their validity. Particularly when these responses must be determined by verbal testimony, there may be a certain hypocrisy about the report—especially in periods when the mores are changing.

3. In these days of the interlacing of groups, there may not be uniformity in the reactions of the individuals even though they appear to belong to the same social groups. The solidarity, in other words, that sociologists predicate for a social group may be far from complete. Groups, too, may differ from one another so that there would be different moralities within the same large geographical area.

Our problem became, then, to invent some device by which we could ascertain the mores of groups with sufficient definiteness that we could deal with them quantitatively and in a form that would permit a precise showing of the degree of parallelism between the conduct exemplified in motion-picture shows and these approved customs of the groups. This we achieved by making "scales" of acts of varying degrees of "goodness" or "badness" (that is, varying amounts of positive or negative divergence from

the mores) in respect to a number of types of situations. We should have been glad to have each of these acts occur in a natural setting in social life and to measure objectively the responses of a large sampling of the group to it; but that was, of course, not feasible. Our second choice would have been to show these types in a motion picture, or other dramatic representation, and similarly measure responses; but that, too, proved impracticable. We, therefore, set these acts before respondents verbally and secured from them verbal testimony of their emotional reactions. Limitation on space and on the time of the readers made it necessary for us to describe each of the acts briefly, but we tried to make the descriptions vivid enough and complete enough that the respondent would fall into his customary reaction to it, or at least would recognize how he reacts to such an incident when it occurs in real life. Each paragraph carried at its head a caption more briefly describing the act. Following are two examples:

HUSBAND KISSES WIFE DELICATELY IN PRIVATE

At times, husbands are more sentimental than at others. This evening as Mrs. Waverly sat upon the davenport listening to the radio program, her husband came up behind her and quietly kissed her on the cheek.

ENGAGED COUPLE KISS AS THEY WALK ALONG IN PUBLIC

It was one of those rare days in spring, and Joan and Kenneth were taking advantage of it by walking along the country road arm in arm. From time to time, and utterly disregarding the passing vehicles, Kenneth would lean over and kiss Joan on the cheek, or again they would stop and do the thing right.

Three hundred twenty-six such samples of conduct were submitted to 187 persons, representing a fairly random sample of society, for a determination of the degree of "badness" of each of the acts. These 326 bits of conduct were not a sampling of morality as a whole, but of only four phases of it that are extensively played up in commercial motion pictures, aggressiveness of a girl in love making, kissing, democratic attitudes and practices, and the treatment of children by parents. The specimens represented, however, different degrees of "badness" of an

aggregate of 54 type-variants within these four phases of morality, so that their evaluation involved the making of essentially 54 scales. The 187 respondents were asked to separate the 326 cards on which the descriptions of these acts were printed into three piles:

1. Those that they disapproved of—that grated on their sensibilities
2. Those that struck them as O. K. but nothing to brag about
3. Those that not only aroused no resentment, but actually challenged the admiration of the rated.

From the percentage of persons placing the items in the three piles, a numerical index of "badness" was derived in terms of the *sigma* placement of the mid-neutral point along the base line of a normal distribution. The values theoretically could run from plus 3.00 to minus 3.00, but in fact this whole range was not used because there was no item to which we got a hundred per cent disapproval or a hundred per cent admiration. The process of deriving these values is too technical to permit description in the space we may take here, but it is fully explained in the author's forthcoming monograph. It is sufficient to say that there resulted from the process scales of a "ladder" type with quantitative indexes for their different levels, not unlike the scales employed for measuring the merit of English composition or of handwriting.

With these scales, the mores of eighteen different social groups were measured within the areas covered by the scales. That is, it was determined how far down on each scale conduct might go and yet be within the approval of 25 per cent of each group, or 50 per cent, or 75 per cent, or any other percentage. With these same scales a sampling of 142 feature motion pictures and 42 comics was rated by consensus of first three and later five judges, the scales being handled in much the same manner as that in which English composition scales are employed in rating compositions. In our monograph, we show in great detail

the percentage of feature films and of comics lying above and below the 25 per cent line, the 50 per cent line, and the 75 per cent line of approval, of admiration, and of disapproval of each of the social groups whose mores we had measured.

Our measurements proved to be surprisingly reliable. The reliability coefficients for the scale values ranged from .983 to .994 and those for the measurement of the mores of groups with the scales, from .941 to .989. Motion pictures could be rated with the use of the scales by committees of five members each with reliabilities usually above .90. These reliability coefficients are as high as those achieved by the better objective educational tests. They show that the technique we developed is one of great promise for studying scientifically not only our particular problem but also other social phenomena hitherto inaccessible to scientific research.

Any report of our findings that is to do justice to the study must be one of great detail, since the conflict with standards of morality was found to be one of degree rather than of presence or absence. But in general we may say that motion pictures were found to be most in conflict with the mores, in the sense that many scenes lay below the point in "badness" where half of a random sample of the members of society would approve them, in respect to aggressiveness of a girl in love making. In this area 70 per cent of the scenes in feature films lay below the "approval index" of our sample of the total population and only 30 per cent above. The others lay in descending order of amount of conflict as follows: kissing, democratic attitudes and practices, the treatment of children by parents. In respect to the last, motion pictures are distinctly above the mores in the sense that 75 per cent of the scene lay above the "approval index" of our 18 groups combined and only 25 per cent below this "approval index."

But any complete picture of the situation must be got from an inspection of the detailed findings given in our full report.

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EDITORIAL

In a new field such as educational sociology, the student and teacher are faced with the difficult problem of discovering the material published and available in libraries and in periodicals, but not in published books. This situation arises because of the newness of the science and because of the contributors to the field. We find authors contributing not only to sociological journals but to all educational journals, many of whose articles relate to the problems of educational sociology. The only possible means of serving students of education is to have an adequate index of educational literature, and that is just what we now have.

The Education Index, a publication of the H. W. Wilson Company, notable for its publication of the Readers Guide to Periodical Literature, has just been published, covering the years from January 1929 to June 1932 and including in its list 117 leading periodicals in the United States, Canada, and foreign countries, arranged by author and subject in one alphabet.

The Index attempts to give adequate representation to all phases of educational publications. It includes periodicals both popular and technical; it indexes magazines for the instruction of parents and those dealing with clinics. It includes a complete range of education, from the kinder-

garten to seminar, with attention to the best current professional literature for educational workers in every phase of educational endeavor.

Moreover, each issue of the Index includes classified lists of the latest educational books, indexed by author, and the entries are later made a part of the permanent record. Regular and occasional publications of institutions, associations, and foundations are listed each month in a section devoted exclusively to these publications. This makes it possible for the teacher or student who is interested in any topic to turn to the Education Index and find there all the important articles dealing with that topic. For example, suppose a student is interested in making a study of child guidance clinics. He could turn to page 294 of the volume and find all the articles of importance relating to these clinics listed and could thus, with little effort, consult these publications and know exactly what has been said upon this important topic.

The Index is therefore not only a labor-saving device for the student of any phase of education, and particularly a student of educational sociology, but it guarantees that all essential matter may be easily examined. The educational world is greatly indebted to the publishers for this contribution to the development of the science of education.

THE DEVELOPMENT OF CHILDREN'S ATTITUDES CONCERNING MOTHERS' OUT-OF-HOME EMPLOYMENT

SELMA M. MATHEWS

The purpose of this paper is to present facts relative to the problem of the development of children's attitudes towards mothers' out-of-home employment. Professor E. R. Groves¹ raised this question some time ago by the publication of results which he gained from casual interviews with children of different ages. His findings are quoted at length.

The very young child is uncritical—mother is mother, and everything she does is the best that could be done. As he gets a little older, the child may frankly evaluate the advantages to himself of his mother's absence from home.

From the age of four onward, the child discriminates sharply between the going away of his mother to work and her absenting herself to attend some social gathering. The work he accepts as inevitable, while the diversions of his mother may seem to him to cut in on his own playtime with her.

To the child below the age of adolescence, life as it touches him seems so stable that it does not occur to him to bring about changes in his environment by finding fault with what it is. As adolescence approaches, the child begins to size up his situation in the light of what he finds true or assumes in the case of his friends. Now the child is very likely to try to insist that his mother stay at home as do the mothers of the children he knows. He may feel that he is cheated in having a part-time mother, though it is more probable that he is only anxious to appear well in the eyes of his mates, and that he feels his social standing injured by his mother's queerness.

The working mother may take seriously her child's injunction, and give up the work she likes only to find a few years later, as her adolescent child steps out into the current of modern life, that he has again changed his point of view, and wants her to go to work, forgetting that he ever begged her to stay at home.

¹E. R. Groves, *American Marriage and Family Relationships* (New York: Henry Holt and Company, 1928), pp. 72-76.

PLAN OF STUDY

Additional evidence related to the same problem raised by Professor Groves has been assembled by the writer. The data was collected by an entirely different method, however. A random sampling of four hundred children was chosen for the investigation. These ranged from the fifth grade up through university senior level. They were selected from a university town, a residential suburb of a large city, and the slums of two large cities in the North Central States. The study was carried on in regular school-rooms. The requests were made of the children by their teachers in an ordinary language or English assignment. No names were affixed to the papers. Standard directions were adhered to in each group. The following set of directions shows the exact form of the problem as set before the pupils.

Directions

I Make a list of all the *advantages* that might come to the home if mothers worked regularly outside their homes. Please number each statement. Here are some examples.

1. It would give more money so the family could get more nice things.
2. Mother and children can have better times together if they aren't together all of the time.
3. It would be nice and quiet at home with no one to scold and direct all the time.

Now you go ahead and write as many other advantages as you can think of. Don't forget to number each statement separately.

(Teacher: After about ten minutes have pupils turn their papers over and give the following directions.)

II. Now I want you to make a list of all the *disadvantages* that might come to the home if mothers worked regularly outside their homes. Some examples of such statements follow.

1. It would make home a lonely place to live in.
2. A child cannot go with certain crowds or groups if his mother doesn't stay at home "like all other mothers."
3. The mother coming home tired from work would cause all the family to become cross and unhappy.

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Now go ahead and write as many other *disadvantages* as you can. Remember, number each statement

(Teacher *After the lists have been completed ask each child whose mother works outside the home to write "yes" in the upper right-hand corner of his paper. Each child whose mother does not work outside the home should write "no."*)

The ideas for the six examples used were obtained from statements of children secured by Professor Groves in personal conferences with children whose mothers carried on outside-the-home occupations.

The returns from the four hundred pupils questioned were gratifying. After duplicates were eliminated, there remained 1,695 statements of advantages and 2,287 statements of disadvantages. The teachers who made the assignments reported that the pupils displayed interest and an honest attitude towards the work. No bizarre responses were received. Many of the responses were written in the first person and clearly showed that the child was relating his personal experience. Many children signed their names in spite of the fact that this was not required. Some made statements that might be very damaging to their homes and social standing—such as could have been kept secret. Therefore, on the whole, it seemed reasonably certain that a reliable list of children's attitudes about home life in its varied situations was obtained. The teachers reported that the children often found it difficult to think of advantages but, when she assigned the disadvantages, they went to work with a vengeance and had to be warned when the time grew short. This fact is substantiated by the returns where the advantages are in the minority.

Each statement was transferred to a card and these were sorted according to an arbitrarily chosen outline. The main categories were mother, child, father, parent relationships, parent-child relationships, family group, and society in general. For example, *mother* refers to all statements

made by children with reference to their mother. Then a tabulation was made of all statements according to the outline, keeping each grade separate. Grades 5, 8, 9, 11, and 12, and university seniors were represented.

A legitimate question arises at this point. Were the children unduly influenced by the attitudes suggested in the six examples given to them? Each outline subhead under which each example would classify showed a high frequency of mention. It is not absolutely certain whether significant differences were made or not by the use of the examples, but in a more extensive study,² of which this is a part, these same trends showed up when data were collected by five entirely different techniques. In order to show, for example, that the sample question under *advantages* did not influence to the extent that a sameness of response was received, several of the statements are reproduced which were classified under the outline heading V2d (Table I). It can be seen that an element of subjectivity entered into the process of classification, but the final decision was usually an evident one.

Don't have to keep quiet because she is napping.
 Enjoy doing things when she's away
 Can play in the house and clean up after
 You can work better.
 A quiet home
 At Christmas we can have presents hidden from her.
 More fun to stay at home.
 More racket in the house.
 Less noise around the house.
 You could have a little peace.
 Have good times all by yourself.
 You could clean house alone.
 No one working and making noise so I can't read
 More peace and quiet.
 You could be alone awhile.
 More privacy for self
 You can get lessons with a clear mind
 No disturbance by sweeping and mopping while I read
 Can look at pictures and read with no bother
 Telephone won't be ringing all the time.

²The Effect of Mothers' Out-of-Home Employment upon Children's Ideas and Attitudes
 Unpublished doctor's dissertation, Ohio State University, Columbus, Ohio, 1931

RESULTS

Table I shows the tabulation of the 3,982 statements together with the explanations of the classification categories and their subheads. In order to make clear how the responses were classified, all of the subheads under I (MOTHER) in the table will be explained in some detail.

In section one of Table I a classification is given which covers all of the statements made by children in response to the requests made of them. In the second column of this section of the table, key words have been inserted which define roughly the meanings or interpretations which were used in each subhead of the classification outline. For example, 1 to 5 inclusive, refers to all statements made by the children with reference to their mother. The subhead 1 (psychological) under MOTHER refers to statements of children with relation to the psychological effect upon mother if she worked. These statements were sometimes advantageous when they cited attitudes of relief, independence, superiority, etc. Disadvantageous ones such as attitudes of worry, repression, resentment, etc., are also included. The subhead 2 (social) refers to children's statements concerning the social standing of the mother. Either she had more friends or she lost social standing because of the disgrace of working. Subhead 3 (economic) refers to statements which mention luxuries or personal fineries which the mother could have if she, too, were receiving an income. Subhead 4 (cultural) covers items of additional opportunities for education along many cultural lines or, speaking negatively, of the lack of cultural opportunities caused by having to drudge all day and then to do the housework at night. Subhead 5 (health and appearance) covers items which make mention of the fact that mother could have better clothing, and could care for herself better physically if she were making additional money to pay for these. Disadvantageous statements men-

tion that her overwork from doing double duty makes health and attractive personal appearance impossible.

The writer had a much more detailed description of each outline subhead with which to make the classification, but for the sake of space these will not be given here. The descriptive words in column two of Table I give both the positive and negative meanings used in general for each step of the outline.

Section two of Table I shows a tabulation of the frequency of mention of attitudes secured from the children. These were classified according to the outline in section one of the table. This was done by distributing the response frequencies into a grade classification. Frequencies of grades 5, 8, 9, 11, and 12 were distributed according to both advantages and disadvantages. The frequencies of the university students' responses were also included. The advantages for each grade are always listed in the left-hand column for that grade marked "A" and the disadvantages in the right marked "D." In order to show how to read the table, one example from the fifth grade follows: the 9 in column one of this section refers to 9 statements showing economic advantages to the child, in the form of an allowance or spending money, if mother worked. Just opposite this 9 to the right is a 1. This represents one statement describing a disadvantage financially to the child. This particular item came from a paper depicting poverty. The mother's additional earnings meant merely the ability to pay more on the coal or doctor bill. The child's visioned candy sucker or new marbles were still impossibilities. Therefore, from a fifth grader's viewpoint, what advantage was there that she worked?

ANALYSIS OF RETURNS

After the statements were classified and tabulated the data was analyzed both horizontally and perpendicularly. First, the sets of responses for each grade under each

subhead of the classification were studied singly. Secondly, a composite of all responses according to grade was made for advantages and for disadvantages. Thus, the detailed horizontal analysis attempts to show the evolution of attitudes in respect to each type of relationship indicated in the outline in Table I. Following this, the perpendicular analysis or summary statement of this evolution by grade levels will be shown in Table II.

INTERPRETATIONS ACCORDING TO TYPE OF RELATIONSHIP

In reporting this detailed analysis of responses, the outline headings will be coded in order to save space.

For example, I—1, 2, 3, 5 refers to the interpretation of the composite of all statements made concerning the mother along psychological, social, economic, health, and appearance lines.

I—1, 2, 3, 5. Such concepts as mother's mental freedom, broader social outlook, chance for personal fineries, and general health and attractiveness of appearance are not apparent to the younger children. Evidently mothers exist for children's comfort. In I-2, fifth-grade children see her only for themselves. The high frequency of disadvantage in I-1 was caused by the effect of her irritability, temper, tiredness, and worried state on the children. Statements under I-5 revealed fear for mother's overwork, injuries or accidents at work, and health as a result. Her crossness is impressed upon them as a "sick condition."

I-4. The idea of cultural advantage to working mothers is a broader and more altruistic one. University students see this much more clearly; fifth graders not at all.

II-1 Not until adolescence is well on its way are children able to feel a pride if mother works.

II-2 All the children saw the immediate social opportunity if mother were gone, but this was overshadowed by their having to work around the home instead.

II-3 Perhaps high-school freshmen are more likely to

receive their first "money freedom" at this age, hence, its importance.

II-4. All recognized the chance for more advantages if more money were coming into the home.

II-5. Disadvantages overbalance advantages because of lack of proper clothing repair and meal preparation.

II-6. All ages agree that children need guidance from the mother. The higher frequency among high-school students was caused by frequent references to help which they expected of her at their beck and call. Except in cases of II-3 and II-4 (evident economic and cultural situations) we see the child's attitude towards his need of a mother shown by the high disadvantage frequency.

III-1. It is extremely interesting that no mention is made of father in considering home situations. The few tallies were extreme ones. Not until high-school days does the child see any effect upon father and then in only a small measure. Perhaps this is a reflection of his own disgrace made public by words to his children.

IV-1, 2, 3, 4. Again the concept of parent relationships requires deeper insight and understanding. Even university students think that possibly more harm than good may come if mother and father both work.

V-1. Few children are able to see advantages in the mother-child relationships from the mother's standpoint. If they exist, perhaps mothers don't speak of them. At least the child doesn't see bettered relations, for she so often appears tired and cross.

V-2a. High frequency of tallies here shows the psychological effect upon the child if mother works. It is almost an even draw between attitudes of loneliness and freedom, however. The feeling of lack is expressed differently at all ages: grade 5, loneliness; grade 8, absence of a "real home"; high school, no home at all, "wrecked"; university, lack of home atmosphere and companionship.

V-2b. Evidently prohibitions are irksome to developing

personalities. It is interesting to note that university students seem to have forgotten their younger days, for surely they also writhed under restraints. We tend to forget the unpleasant happenings in life (note also V-2c and 2d).

V-2c. It is possible that only a few of the more precocious feel very strongly this need for time to themselves. It is the high-school child that is the rushed child. He is at a convenient age for mother to entrust with responsibilities. His newly developing social interests also crowd his hours.

V-2d. Note that interruptions are less frequently mentioned than prohibitions or restraints. It is to be expected that restraints cause the more resentment. The university student forgets his earlier scoldings in his maternal appreciations developing with age.

V-3. It is quite significant that father rates so few tallies when considering his relation with his children. The high-school tallies are from one or two extreme papers where father tried to take over mother's work, "didn't know how," and therefore "wrecked all." Only the university student sees that the father may lose in the child's esteem by seeming to be incapable of making a living alone.

VI-1. Evidently high frequency of tallies indicated that the atmosphere of the home is considered very important. In every case, however, it is less "like home" if mother works.

VI-2. High-school students see advantage to the whole family socially because mother finds new friends to bring into the home. The university group feared loss of social standing.

VI-3, 4, 5. Economic and cultural gains are admitted by all as self-evident. The junior-senior group reversed their opinion in VI-5 because of fear of lost health if mother were not at home to prepare meals properly and on time. Note the high-frequency tally for high school in VI-3. Of course, this is the age when frills are necessary to a full life.

VI-6 There are but few dissenting opinions on this item. From grade 5 on up there was a horror of an untidy, mismanaged home. They thought that if a mother worked, this was bound to be a result.

VII-1 General social implications incite a paucity of ideas. Perhaps there is a paucity of knowledge or interest behind this. This may be a natural tendency. Hollingworth, in *The Psychology of the Adolescent*, refers to a study of the correlation between intelligence and wishes made by John Washburne, in which even children of superior intelligence confined their wishes to strictly personal desires. She suggests that upon wider investigation, perhaps very few adolescents would include in any of their three wishes the expression of longing for the abstract good of the human race. The twenty-seven generalizations mentioned were from young high-school philosophers on such topics as mother's place in the world, causes of divorce, careers for women, high ideals of the married state, etc. To these were added some few by university majors in education, sociology, home economics, and psychology. These showed the influence of their study.

INTERPRETATIONS ACCORDING TO GRADE LEVELS

Table II shows in a concise though sketchy form, the trend of children's attitudes concerning mothers' out-of-home employment according to grade as interpreted by the writer. Although secured by quite different approaches, these results agree fairly well with those of Professor Groves. His came from the results of casual interviews with children of various ages, while these were secured by the group method using a controlled question for each group.

TABLE II

GENERAL IMPRESSIONS OF CHILDREN'S ATTITUDES BY GRADE
TOWARDS MOTHERS' OUT-OF-HOME EMPLOYMENT*Advantages**Grade 5*

In general, life is accepted as it is. Opportunity to do housework for mother is considered of value and a joy. Rules of obedience, conformity, etc., are accepted. They take pride in shouldering responsibility for other family members. They seek to please mother. Co-operative work is considered of value. Mother's work causes them to look forward to more toys.

Grade 8

The "whoopie age." They demand freedom to make noise, to have pets in the house, and to play with noisy horns and motors. They feel the need of better clothes, larger allowances, and more social life, particularly shows.

High School

In many ways mothers are unnecessary bothers when they are in command. These youngsters demand freedom from prohibitions such as mothers are wont to make. They desire a *quiet* home life. Social freedom, a beautiful and cultured home, and the *right* clothes are necessities.

*Disadvantages**Grade 5*

Mothers are needed for personal comforts. They feel unable to care for themselves alone at home. They dislike to come to an untidy, lonely house after school. They feel it is unfair to give up their play time in order to do mother's work. An attitude of fear oppresses them, fear of thieves, kidnappers, fire, sickness, accidents, etc.

Grade 8

Eighth graders object seriously to the state of affairs if mother works. It tends to result in no *right* clothes well kept, no good meals on time, no help on lessons, no tidy house, and lack of social life. They resent the fact that they must bear the brunt of hard work at home to make up for mother's absence.

High School

To these young people it is a tragedy if they must assume responsibilities for their own clothes and meals. They express this attitude in fears for their health, lack of balanced diet, etc. A feeling of disgrace is shown if mother works. They philosophize on mother's place in the world, and this includes the fact that they *need her when they want* her. They begin to see parental relations and the relative positions of father and mother.

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University Juniors

University students see the value of good parent relationships. They are interested in the cultural and psychological advantages possible for the mother who works. They advise that the child learn early to become independent of his mother. Several interesting suggestions are made for home-management adjustment.

University Juniors

The question of mothers working is an open one. Although the social standing of the child and family might be somewhat endangered, there is generally expressed a pride in women working and a prediction largely for good as an outcome of the new home régime thus necessitated. The child is looked upon as a sufferer for the sake of the mother's personal advancement. The father's position psychologically should be reckoned with as well as social implications in general.

Since it was the purpose of this study to discover the actual attitudes of these four hundred children, it furnished no data to show how they came to possess these attitudes. It has at least shown trends which are the result of an indefinite past training or lack of training. This surely could not have been uniformly bad, loose, or ideal.

There is no evidence that such attitudes need to have been. Research has shown that attitudes of fear can be ingrained into children, that environment can be so set that race prejudice can be developed, and that adolescents assume strange attitudes because they have been misunderstood. Probably children's attitudes concerning mothers' out-of-home employment are influenced by factors similar to these. Therefore, it is reasonable to believe that there is no uniform order of development of this attitude common to all children, but, rather, the development will depend upon environmental factors in the individual home and community.

TO WHAT EXTENT COULD AND SHOULD THE FIRST COLLEGE COURSE IN SOCIOLOGY MAKE USE OF DIRECT-CONTACT MATERIALS?¹

L. L. BERNARD

I

What are direct-contact materials for a college introductory course in sociology? There may be some differences of opinion on this matter, just as there are differences in the degree of the directness of the contacts made with the materials. Among the fairly direct contacts that may be made with illustrative and source materials are the following:

Field Study. It was formerly a more common practice than at present for the teacher or an assistant to take the introductory class, or sections of it, on near-by or more distant trips to demonstrate easily observed conditions discussed in the lectures or text. Trips through the city to demonstrate housing, sanitary, recreational and amusement, labor, and moral conditions, to view manifestations of popular opinion and action on special occasions, and to "inspect" public institutions are typical of this sort of teaching. When skillfully managed it may afford a valuable supplement to classroom instruction, especially if written or oral reports (the former, preferably, if the teacher can find time to read them) are required. Such trips are not always taken seriously by the students and they may be resented by the public. A large class is an unwieldy group for demonstration purposes, when it must be on the move constantly and time is limited. Summer field work under guidance is sometimes used and is of a similar character.

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Museum Materials. If these are properly arranged and conveniently housed they may serve somewhat as a laboratory for the inactive cultural content of the classwork, just as the field trips may give some sort of laboratory experience in connection with living cultural content. Museum objects may also be brought to the classroom and used there for illustration and demonstration. There is an advantage in the museum materials over the field trips in that the former may be studied leisurely and in detail. The number of students who will make a detailed study of museum materials without being compelled to do so by means of required reports, examinations, etc., is not very large. If this method is to be used effectively there should be a good collection on hand and regular laboratory periods should be assigned to the work. Archaeological, anthropological, and contemporary cultural materials may be collected in such a museum. Drawings, models, photographs, specifications, and written descriptions may be substituted for the more bulky or extensive objects, such as buildings, playgrounds, camps, first-aid work, sanitation, etc.

Project Studies. Individuals and groups within the class are often assigned projects illustrating important phases of the subject matter of the course for study. In such cases reports should be made to the class as a whole, which may thus secure some vicarious participation. Housing, recreation, public-health work, labor conditions, home life, of various social groups, moral influences, church and other institutional activities, club life, cultural activities in the narrower sense, etc., may be used to advantage for such project work. Project work of this sort bears a close general resemblance to the case work required in professional training courses for social workers.

Local Surveys Some departments of sociology have their students in the first course participate in local surveys, either of the community or of some phase of social behavior. Such an undertaking, if carried out in such a

manner as not to make a faice of method and results, requires considerable time. Yet, if the introductory course is sufficiently extended, it may be possible to fit the survey to the general plan of the course without obscuring unduly the fundamntal principles and processes of society with which such a course should acquaint the student. Excellent class leadership is necessary to such favorable results, otherwise the students may be left with unassimilated patchwork notions of society. If successfully done the legitimate impressions of the student will be greatly intensified and vivified.

Class, Group, and Individual Experiments and Demonstrations. Active and resourceful teachers sometimes stage experiments, with or without the foreknowledge of the members of the class, intended to illustrate important aspects of the course material. In this way prevailing prejudices regarding religions, nationalities, manual labor, fashions, etc.; the dominance of fads, fashions, and crazes, characteristic moral conceptions and practices; the prevalence of suggestion and imitation and the very limited operation of truly rational behavior may be illustrated effectively. Such experiments often require little preliminary staging, but considerable ability and keenness of perception on the part of the instructor. Groups of students or individual members of the class may be encouraged to carry out such experiments and report them to the class or even to stage them as demonstrations before the class. Much helpful competition among students may be stimulated in this way.

First-hand accounts of pertinent observations and experiences on the part of students may sometimes be used with effect. Almost all members of a class have had one or more significant experiences in their home or community life, or have observed in their work or travels such things as would make concrete some of the abstract content of the course. To encourage students to be on the alert for the

recall and discovery of such materials and to present them briefly and pointedly at the appropriate time adds not only to the vividness and effectiveness of the course, but also brings about a much more effective identification of the student with the content of the course he is pursuing.

Life histories, when searchingly meditated and carefully composed, may also add much illustrative content to an introductory course in sociology, especially to that portion which deals with personality integration and disintegration. If the life histories are prepared by the student the reactive influence upon the student's own personality should be carefully studied. If they are taken from outside the class, this aspect can be disregarded. Such documents must usually be employed as outside reading because of lack of time for detailed class reading, but they should be discussed in class. Usually they hold the interest of the class and give an opportunity both for analysis and for dramatization.

Autobiography and biography and the dramatic and crucial processes in history may be used effectively in much the same way, although it is obvious that in such materials the students are getting farther and farther away from direct contacts with the materials of their subjects.

The movie may be employed to give either first-hand or fictional representations of social situations and types of behavior. Much of the social situation can be filmed and brought directly before the student. This is particularly true of housing, sanitary, and recreational conditions. Crowd behavior, social customs, ceremonials, unemployment, institutional organization and management, the physical conditions of city and country, and many other aspects of social life can be filmed in part or as a whole and a large part of the social process may thus be made to live before student eyes.

The radio can give first aid to the ear in much the same way as the movie serves the eye, but the range of content

it covers is necessarily more limited. Both the movie and the radio have the disadvantage of not always being at work when some of the most important events are occurring.

Newspapers and current weekly and monthly magazines serve much the same illustrative and source functions as the movie and the radio, but less vividly. What they lack in vividness is perhaps made up in superior intellectual content and factual detail. A large number of instructors employ periodicals, especially those of a news content, in this way with considerable success. The method must, however, be guarded against superficiality and sensationalism.

Some teachers find it useful—or think they do—to have their students read the modern *drama* and *novels* dealing with social-problem situations. I have known two teachers of sociology who, in their youth, maintained that they would base the whole instruction of the introductory course upon such materials, if they had free hands. One is now head of a large university department of sociology, but I have not heard that he has put his earlier predilections in this regard in practice.

Another possibility, giving a somewhat more direct contact with materials, is to allow the students to dramatize some of the content of the course that lends itself most readily to this method of treatment and act it out as a part of the class or laboratory procedure. This may be done through the writing and staging of plays, the writing and reading of stories, or even the composition and recital of poems. Such methods are used in kindergartens and some teachers may feel that they are not beneath the intellectual level of their own students. If the teacher can keep such work on a serious basis, it will certainly add variety and intensify interest.

Finally, a method which has been used at various times in connection with various subjects is that of requiring the student inductively to construct his own syllabus, outline,

or text for the course. This procedure sends the student to all sorts of sources—the outside social world, the library, the laboratory, and the classroom—for his materials. It transforms the classroom into a forum instead of a place where the content of the course is expounded systematically and authoritatively. It requires much time and labor on the part of both teachers and students, and perhaps works with a fair degree of success for a few exceptionally bright and interested members of the class, but encourages “cribbing” and intellectual dependency on the part of the vast majority of the students, who literally “don’t know what it is all about.”

II

The various teachers of the subject of sociology can add materials to the above analysis of methods of using direct-contact materials. Collectively these several procedures represent a reaction against the older academic and scholastic method of presenting all facts about the object studied *in purely abstract forms, and often without due regard for the actual status of the concrete facts and phenomena which the theory was supposed to symbolize abstractly.* It is a part of the movement towards inductive generalization in all of the sciences of which the laboratory is the means and the symbol. Not only are the laboratory and direct observation and recording the means to scientific discovery, but latterly they have also been erected into a direct and effective means of teaching. It is supposed that the student must learn inductively much as the scientist invents and discovers inductively. The behavioristic social psychology which emphasizes habit formation through the mechanism of the conditioning of responses would seem to favor this interpretation. Certainly it is easier to condition new responses to concrete stimuli than to abstract ones

While it seems now to be conceded generally that the older sciences have probably made too great use of the laboratory method in teaching, resulting in a piecemeal

and inadequately systematized conception of the content of the science taught, it is perhaps equally true that the social sciences and particularly sociology have utilized this procedure to an insufficient degree. If, however, it is to be adopted in sociology—and I believe it can be employed successfully—a new administrative attitude towards the subject must be created in our colleges and universities. Also the teachers must get a new conception of the content and purpose of the introductory course. The administration must somehow be induced to provide museums and laboratory equipment on as large a scale and at least as expensive in character as comparable materials now furnished to physics, chemistry, geology, biology, and psychology. Laboratory and other assistants also must be provided in adequate numbers, and perhaps of a higher grade of training, since the handling of much of the material described above requires a more informed and accurate judgment than is needed by laboratory assistants in the physical sciences. The conception of the first course must also be changed. It must become, in such an event, more a device for training the student in selecting and judging data in the field than of giving him a systematic presentation of the accepted findings in sociology. There will not be time for the adequate achievement of both these objectives in such a course. To place the chief emphasis upon scientific methodology in the physical and biological sciences may not be a mistake, except where the student is expected to learn content that will be of service to him in his later work. But in sociology there may be some legitimate question as to the advisability of this emphasis. The content of sociology has a more immediate relationship to everyday life than has the methodology of the science. Indeed, this is one case where the mores (content) is much more influential than the method of testing the content of behavior (the mores). This is one of the facts that Sumner so wisely emphasized. But of course there are limits even to this

truth and there always comes a time when it is important to emphasize the tests of behavior as well as to provide its content.

III

Let us, then, examine the advantages of the method of teaching by bringing the student in direct contact with the facts of social life. We can of course start out with the recognition that we can limit this method anywhere short of a complete application of experimental or laboratory and controlled observational procedure. Only a very few enthusiasts would advocate going the whole way along any of the lines of procedure outlined in the first section of this paper.

The cardinal virtues of this method of instruction are concreteness and realism. The student sees with his own eyes, hears with his own ears the social reality that it is desired to have enter his comprehension. He may even touch many of the objects and walk beside the people, or participate personally in the processes he is observing. Much has been made of the value of social participation in the events observed. All of this not only conduces to vastly greater ease of perception of facts, but it also leads to an emotional identification with or antagonism towards the social processes which results in a more powerful behavioristic motivation than can possibly be communicated through the printed page. Even if the printed content of the lesson is cast in dramatic form it does not possess the compelling power that springs from what the eye has actually seen and the ear has heard or the personality has felt in the midst of things.

One of the strongest complaints brought against the student of our day, nay even against the average citizen, is that he or she is too often listless, passive, unperceiving of the positive realities of our social life. Everywhere it is said there is no great enthusiasm in our universities and colleges for anything except athletics, dances and parties,

the "college activities," and petting. If this is true—and there is only too much truth in it—possibly one of the explanations of the fact is that academic things are too academic. There is too much theory, too many formulas, too much hypothesis, too many abstract facts, and too little chance in the educational process for use of the muscles, the manual skills, and the emotions. The student likes to feel his blood circulate. Our derivative civilization has driven tender affection out of the home or made it somewhat embarrassing to express it, and there is no room in the house to play and spread one's wings. Perhaps it is only natural, therefore, that play and self-achievement and affection should go to college and compete with the intellectual life there. Or perhaps the trouble is that in this derivative civilization of ours, so far away from the primary contests and standards and controls of even a generation ago, the student, like the citizen, has lost the feeling of reality. Perhaps the lack of stereotropic urge and reassurance of direct contact and participation has left him cold and disconnected from the feeling of being a part of things. Certainly the average citizen now no longer seems to feel that society is *his* society, that government is *his* government, or the civic future is *his* future. He stands aside looking on at the whole process, rather cynically and coldly speculating as to what *they* will do next. He is losing faith in the good intentions of all social institutions and is coming to look upon them largely as "rackets." Consequently, as Al Capone is said to give the stock market a clear berth because it is "another racket," the average citizen tends to steer clear not of the stock market, but of the social processes with which he formerly identified himself and to give his best attention not to the common welfare—of which he only too frequently doubts the existence—and concentrates his energies on his own "racket" or on his pleasures. Thus our society is today very much in danger of disintegrating into a great number of separate "rackets"

which are replacing the old ideal of the common welfare, because our people have lost to a considerable extent the sense of social reality and welfare and faith in social justice.

If direct contact with the social processes in studying society will bring back some sort of moral identification with that process and create emotional attachments and antagonisms on a rational basis to social behavior it will indeed be most advisable to install the direct method. Whether the direct method of teaching is an adequate remedy for our obvious social disaffection I am not absolutely certain. There may be other and more subtle difficulties under the surface. But I for one have observed with some disquietude in recent years the growing antipathy among sociologists for dealing in their college courses with social problems or with anything which might suggest social reform. The ostensible reason for this antipathy to social problems is the expressed desire of the sociologists to be scientific and to escape possible errors of attitude and interpretation in a field which still lacks sufficient data derived from scientific analysis and experimentation. No doubt these are worthy motives, if they are not primarily the rationalizations of a fear of contrary public opinion and of the various "rackets" which in our society are replacing a devotion to the ideal of social welfare. I wonder if the latter may not too frequently be the case. Likewise, the oft expressed fear of the intellectual purists in sociology of anything that smacks of an ethical connotation points, I suspect, in the same direction. I am most heartily in sympathy with complete objectivity in scientific investigation in sociology as in every other discipline. But I am inclined to think that we must distinguish rather carefully between scientific investigation and the training of citizens. In the one it would be unpardonable for a partisan preconception to color the character of our findings; but in the other, once the scientific fact has been determined, it is our duty as teachers to make it as clear and as emotionally realistic to the future citizens we are

training as lies in our power. Perhaps we have all sinned a good deal in our artificial detachment from the concrete facts of life in our classroom instruction. And possibly the reason for this detachment lies largely in our fear of the "rackets" that have replaced in some measure the ideal of social welfare.

IV

But now for some of the disadvantages of the direct method of teaching introductory sociology. They are many and striking, although perhaps not incapable of being compensated for. Chief among the disadvantages, I think, are the resulting circumscription and distortion of viewpoint that are very likely to follow where a large portion of the student's time is taken up with the concrete objective details of social life and not enough time is left in the classroom discussion to polish down his direct-contact impressions until they fit in with a systematic and well-balanced presentation of the social process as a whole. It requires a good deal of skill on the part of a teacher to bridge the emotional and intellectual gap between the highly dynamic impressions gained from direct contact with social conditions, many of which perhaps stimulate strong emotional reactions, and the much less dynamic impressions gleaned from the printed page or from a somewhat prosaic organization of materials in the classroom. Too often the student finishes the course with two sets of impressions—one about what he has seen and another about "what the book said"—and neither of them makes a very vital connection with the other. Furthermore, without more time and more teaching force, the direct-contact teaching is likely to be inadequately guided and imperfectly disciplined into conformity with the major purposes of the course, or, if it receives adequate attention, the general theory background and organization, which comes through the assigned reading and classroom guidance, is likely to suffer. It is my opinion that, however much direct contact there is between the student and the world outside the classroom and the

book, the theoretical or systematic general background must always be presented adequately and the direct-contact impressions must be interpreted in the light of the larger systematic whole of knowledge about the subject. Otherwise, the understanding of the student is almost certain to be incomplete and distorted and his powers of interpretation of what he sees decidedly limited. Of course, it is necessary that the systematic background of theory which is used for purposes of interpreting concrete observations must be thoroughly scientific and dependable, and one way to make it so is to test it by observed facts.

Another difficulty to be guarded against in the use of the direct method has been hinted at. It is the danger of skewed or biased emotional identification with what is directly before the eyes or of emotional antagonism to it. No doubt a considerable amount of such emotional reaction is highly desirable in the citizen, but it should not go so far as to create an emotional disregard of or distaste for a scientific analysis of the fundamental factors lying back of what one actually sees. Only too often close visual contact with social conditions, without sufficient analysis of the remote factors producing the visible results, tends to superficiality of interpretation and even to impatience with fundamental analysis and study of the total situation. It is not always easy to distinguish between visible appearance and underlying reality. The important sociological analyses of our day cannot be made with the naked eye and by means of unaided sensory perceptions. They must be abstract in the highest degree, and a course even in introductory sociology which does not lead the student into some considerable understanding of this abstract fundamental analysis as a basis for the interpretation of what he sees is likely to fail of the most important function of such a course. It may turn out enthusiasts, but too frequently not careful and competent thinkers about society. Where concrete observation and fundamental interpretation are adequately combined and harmonized, the result is ideal.

V

In determining a concrete policy of instruction and in deciding to what extent the direct method of instruction can be used to advantage in the first course in sociology, a number of facts must be taken into consideration. Much depends upon the training and resourcefulness of the teacher. Much also depends upon the resources and the time at his disposal. Not a little will depend upon his temperament. I have seen some enthusiastic followers of the direct method who seemed incapable of fundamental interpretation. Like some social workers, they seemed oblivious to the need of any theoretical background; practice seemed sufficient in itself. Social life is not as simple as that. Such teachers usually produce superficial students, enthusiastic perhaps, but with too little content to have wise enthusiasms about.

It is well also for the teacher to pay some heed to his general public. There is no "racket" that the racketeers dislike more, fear more, than the "reform racket." Every racketeer hates a puritan and will "get" him if he can. Our literature, our movies, our radios are full of this paid protest against the social-welfare motive in modern life. Perhaps nothing is more indicative of the extent to which modern life has been dissolved into the "racket" organization and has adopted the "racket" psychology than this almost universal protest against the man who wishes to promote the welfare of the social whole. Each man wants to be left to his own game and in such a world the policeman is anathema. And so is the moralist, and so may well become the sociologist, if he displays any inclination to see things as they are and to explain them on general sociological principles. We must not suppose that the general public is much interested in scientific fact and in impersonal reform. It is the present-day fashion to be antagonistic to both, because all organization and propaganda are suspect. The best we can do, perhaps, is to teach the student what the facts are, sociologically speaking.

SUGGESTIONS FOR THE FIRST COURSE IN SOCIOLOGY¹

READ BAIN

The vexing question as to the content and method in the first courses of all college subjects cannot be answered once and for all. It is a perennial problem in all first courses, whether they be scientific, artistic, or appreciational. Serious criticisms are presented from time to time regarding both content and method in all so-called laboratory sciences, courses in literature, history, mathematics, and even in languages. There is always the problem of what to leave out and how to present what is finally included. If this is true of subjects which have been long in the curriculum, which are characterized by exact data and well-defined goals, it is still truer of a subject like sociology, which is characterized by a paucity of exact data, and which is variously conceived as a natural science, an ethical discipline, a descriptive study, an appreciational adventure, or a combination of all these, with no clearly delimited field of study, no academic tradition, no agreed upon objectives, and no technical vocabulary which is current intellectual coin, even among sociologists.

Certain factors must be considered in setting up the first course: the personality and skill of the teacher, his general point of view and training, the year in which the course is given, the number of hours, the academic organization, whether the course is elective or required, the purpose of it, the background and general preparation of the students.

The suggestions that follow are based upon these assumptions: The teacher has the training, implied by a doctor's degree in sociology, he has the teaching ability and personality traits we expect from such a man; the students are

¹This paper was read at the meeting of the Ohio Sociological Society, in April 1932, and appeared in their official organ, *The Ohio Sociologist*, in May 1932.

freshmen or sophomores who have the background we expect from graduates of Class-A high schools in Ohio, the course is three hours per week through the year; it is elective, the purpose is to give the student a clear idea of the structure and functioning of the society in which he lives, to enable him to adjust himself better to that society, to think about social phenomena with some degree of objectivity and perspective, and, incidentally, to lay the foundation for possible advanced study in sociology or social work.

Space prevents any discussion of the points presented, nor have I attempted to list them in order of importance or presentation. It is obvious that some of them cannot be presented at any particular place, but must run through the whole course. The general objectives mentioned at the conclusion of the preceding paragraph will guide the conduct of the whole course. The sociological point of view is the important thing, a respect for exact data scientifically obtained, a methodology of thinking about social phenomena.

Scientific Point of View and Methodology. "Sociology is a natural science" should be the *leit motif* and theme song of the first course. It should be repeated a thousand times. We should cease to be apologetic about the scientific status of sociology. We should make a clear distinction between sociology, the natural science, and social work, the meliorative art. We should insist upon our colleagues recognizing the distinction between sociology, the objective natural science studying the phenomena of group behavior, and the various forms of social welfare and social ethics. If this idea is firmly implanted in the minds of students, there will eventually be a body of citizens who do not confuse sociology with socialism, social work, panaceatic Utopianism and other telic enterprises. Sociology is the natural science of group life, and as such it uses the same general methods of arriving at generalizations of the

repetitive uniformities of group behavior that other natural sciences use in dealing with their subject matter.

The Relativity of Morals. This idea must be "got across" if the above goal is to be reached. I think it can best be done by some discussion of cultural anthropology, showing the variety and change in social values and social organization. Then it can be shown that our own culture is not static, that our own folkways and mores are often inconsistent and maladaptive, that we are biased and prejudiced and provincial as a result of the inevitable natural processes of acculturation, that human nature does change, and that cultural continuity is a natural phenomenon which conditions this change.

Elementary Statistical Ideas. All natural science tends to depend more and more on mathematical method. This is particularly true of sociology. The large number of data, the subjectivity and localism, group biases and personal prejudices can best be generalized and objectified through quantification. Hence, such ideas as average, median, norm, deviation, frequency distributions, normal and skewed curves, extrapolation, vital rates, correlation, probability, sampling, table reading, graphic presentation, etc., must become familiar to the students. I do not mean that mathematical manipulation is necessary, but rather that the ideas conveyed by such terms should be mastered, and direct application be made to social data.

The Threefold Environment. The conditioning of social phenomena by geographic, biologic, and sociologic factors should be clearly emphasized, showing their organic interdependence. A theory of limits and social plasticity is implied here. The fool's puzzles of the "greater importance" of geography, heredity, environment, and all other particularisms should be clearly indicated by showing how all factors that are indispensable for a given result are equally "important," that any one is worthless in the absence of the others.

Institutional Organization and Function. The eight or ten major institutions; their world-wide distribution; the fundamental needs they meet and the variety of means by which these needs are fulfilled; the relation between persons and groups, the modification and transformation of the culture patterns developed by institutional organization.

Neglect Abnormal Social Behavior. This material is for the advanced student. It cannot be understood properly till the normal background is understood. I think emphasis on the abnormal is largely responsible for the public distrust of sociology. Some of the problems may be presented or referred to for illustrative purposes, but always as a means to the end of developing a scientific approach to the understanding of all social phenomena. The concepts "normal" and "abnormal," except in the statistical sense, are evaluative, not scientific.

A Scientific Sociology Vocabulary. Three or four hundred technical sociological terms should be mastered. I do not know what terms should be included, but the student must learn to distinguish between popular and sociologic usage in the case of many terms; also, moot terms and meanings must be presented. There is considerable consensus among sociologists in the use of most terms.

Small Attention to Historical Sociology. This is also material for advanced students. Perhaps beginners should know the names and main contributions of Spencer, Ward, Comte, Durkheim, Giddings, Sumner, Cooley, Gumplowicz, Simmel, Wundt, Ratzenhofer, Buckle, Bagehot, Plato, Ibn Khaldun, and a half dozen of the leading living men.

Methodology. The fundamental method should be to get the student to organize and interpret his own experience in sociological terms; get him to observe actual social data. "Case material," unless the student finds it himself, should be minimized; it is likely to be abnormal or stereotyped and meaningless in the same way that much so-called

"laboratory experiment" is. The student should make a first-hand "investigation" of some aspects of normal social life, in sociological terms, applying sociological (*i.e.*, scientific) methods. I believe actual experimental study of group behavior, as contrasted with present social psychological "sociological" experiment, is possible, but I do not know just how to do it. My paper on "Behavioristic Technique in Sociological Research" (in the 1931 *Proceedings* of the American Sociological Society) offers some suggestions along this line.

Two other ideas for the first course should be mentioned. One is to take some institution, such as the family or industrial organization, and make it the core of the whole course, showing how it is a pattern that may be found in all group association. This has never been done to my knowledge, but its pedagogical possibilities intrigue me. Most all valid sociological generalizations could be illustrated by such a method.² The other is to take a particular community (or perhaps two, urban and rural) and treat it in the same way. This is the *Middletown* idea, except it should be done in sociological terms. In either case, the nine suggestions in the first part of this paper should be incorporated

²Professor Eubank, of the University of Cincinnati, tells me that he has used this idea in his elementary course to the extent of requiring a long term paper built around the student's own family in which the principles of the first course are exemplified. I think this is also done at the University of Chicago. I have used it in my classes. This is in accordance with the section on methodology above, and is not quite the same idea as the suggestion that the whole course be oriented around some single institution such as the family, industry, recreation, or the church.

EDUCATION AS A SOCIAL PROBLEM

JAMES W. WOODARD

Education, which in the last half of the nineteenth century seemed so patently the solution for all problems, has itself become a problem.

Even primitive peoples have some institutionalized educational devices. For priestly apprenticeships, secret societies, mandatory uncle-nephew responsibilities, and initiation ceremonies show that the primitive was not willing for what he conceived to be the most important things to go hit or miss, but set up mechanisms for teaching the coming generation in regard to them. Primitive initiation ceremonies were at once a test of the thoroughness of preparation for adult participation, a further instruction in certain esoteric secrets, a diploma of acceptance into the adult group, and a final and painfully intense impressment of the tribal requirements of the individual. Initiation as well as preparation differed with the sexes and both were pointed towards the satisfactory carrying on of adult responsibilities in the rôle of man or woman as that rôle was defined in the particular culture.

The first group need out of which formalized education emerged was thus largely group preservative. Certain folkways and mores, certain supernatural lores, sanctions, and taboos were regarded as too important for the group well-being not to be made sure of in their transmission to the new generations. And the first aim of this education was conformity.

The second group need, out of which arose formalized education, was in the elaboration of too complicated a social heritage for complete transmission without a subdivision of labor. This growing cultural complexity under the cumulative aspects of cultural evolution involves that, sooner or later, the cultural heritage becomes too vast for

each member of the group to share its entirety. This had been possible among the very primitive. This cultural vastness involves division of labor, expertness, and the erection of mechanisms of transmission for the more difficult or obscure or esoteric items. This was accomplished in part by a growing and extending system of apprenticeship and caste, and presently by the inclusion of these items in formalized systems of education.

The aim of education as emerging from this second need may be called, roughly, efficiency—efficiency in carrying on crafts, techniques, and professions; adequacy in the absorption of factual and theoretical backgrounds, and, if we include here the fine arts, pure values, and “spiritual” appreciations, efficiency in living, breadth of appreciations, and the fuller life. This second aim is more indirectly social, at once individual and social. And the later trend of educational thought has been towards a combination of individual and social aims.

From these aspects, a part of the aims of education must be, as Inglis has pointed out, first, the preparation of the individual as a prospective citizen and member of society; second, the preparation of the individual as a worker and producer; and lastly, the utilization of leisure and the development of personality. Our educational program has produced the fit individual, the self-reliant, skillful man or woman. But it has neglected the cooperative and social elements; and it is often condemned for neglecting the philosophic interpretation of scientific data in terms of those “spiritual” values which are the basis of ultimate human satisfaction.

A third group need and a third aim for education emerge, admittedly, relatively late in the development of education as an institution. The need here is ambivalent; it is something which the group and its subgroups at once desire and flee from. I refer to the new, the innovation, the discovery, the displacement of the old and false by the new, by that

relatively closer to reality. This is desired because reality is the final touchstone of adjustment. But it is fled from because the old is often so firmly entrenched in the mores and so endowed with supernatural sanctions; because the subgroups it has favored become vested interests and champion it; and because it is regarded autistically and therefore departure from it is feared. Innovations, new contributions to the sum of knowledge, and the analyzing away of old orientation points and of false shibboleths require a background and a method. Background, method, incentive, and equipment for this task come eventually to be pre-eminently the possession of the educated, more specifically of the educators. And this third aim of education may be called that of research.

Because society's attitude towards this last aim is ambivalent, we have arising around it many paradoxes. For education, starting as the institutionalization of the impressment of mores and traditionally valued belief systems, must, in its ultimate functioning, become the institutionalization of their analysis and replacement! It must replace belief with knowledge; replace faith with critique and logic, replace shibboleth and moral prescription with reason tempered to all the relativity of time and place and person; and replace authority with experiment and independent judgment. Herein is the germ of the conflict between science and religion becoming the conflict between the church and the school, after the manner of Dayton, Tennessee. Here is the opposition of the state and history-as-a-science as to what shall go into the history books. Here the opposition of party interests and political science; of the industrialists with the economists and sociologists. And here the opposition of the family and sex mores with the newer psychologies, sociology, and cultural anthropology. In Galileo's time, the exact sciences too were ambivalently regarded. Now they are given a free hand; but there is a culture lag with regard to scientific methods in the personal and the social.

This means hazards which the institution must run, hazards which, in point of fact, it has taken only mildly well. Administrators are caught in this lag, are unwilling for research to be carried into vital but tabooed fields, or betray themselves by what the newer psychologists would term overactions in their labored distinctions between pure and applied science, identifying themselves, of course, with the former abstracted, devitalized, but safe field! For the student, this means that that major segment of his time and activity which is his academic work is academic in the worst sense; *i.e.*, rooted in a meaningless intellectualism, quite separated from, if not in its orientation opposed to, the fullest understanding of the processes, and the richest realizations of the functions, of individual and social living. A major portion of childhood and adolescence is spent in this unnaturally balanced half living. And, as Hart would put it, we continue to live in two unreal worlds—a world of habits that are traditional, and a world of mere knowledge that has no significance for us.

Nevertheless, research is superficially so important in the education of our day as, in some measure, to overbalance it, giving rise to a number of curious paradoxes. For instance, there are paradoxes in the realm of teaching personnel, at least at the university level. The teacher in the old sense, *i.e.*, the expounder, the interpreter, and the arouser of intellectual enthusiasm, is fast disappearing from the universities in favor of the research worker, though teaching and research are as different as the poles. And this without losing sight of the value to teaching, in turn, of a dynamic and creative approach to the materials to be taught. But the present result of the process is anything but encouraging—on the one hand, miserably conducted classroom teaching by people who at heart are research workers and have neither talent for, nor interest in, teaching, doing the job cursorily, mechanically, and perforce in order to maintain themselves financially so they can have

their all too few hours in the laboratories, and on the other hand, pressure to produce upon persons who have no genius for research and nothing fundamental to contribute. For not only must one publish perforce; he must publish in the pattern and verbiage of the current scientific faddism—at the moment in the statistical pattern and the behavioristic jargon! Indeed, for fewer and fewer at the university level does good teaching have any part at all in their conscious objectives. For by publications one may build a nation-wide, even a world-wide, prestige—and cash in on it. But teaching, by its own nature, can yield no more than a local or campus-wide reputation. And even that can be eclipsed by the first balderdasher who will popularize content to the point of entertainment or who will bestow high grades leniently.

Thus, because of the subjectivity of educators themselves, and because of their fear of established moralities and belief systems and of interests and institutions which would have to be critically scrutinized, education has failed to carry out courageously, in the realm of the social and the personal, her third major function, that of replacing old falsity with new truth. She has put a curiously overprotected emphasis on research and exact methods, but with the tongue in the cheek as to phenomena the study of which would lead one across tabooed lines and as to implications which are too much out of conformity with established mores and institutions. And the total picture is that of an education, especially in its social and psychological sciences, which is muddling through to but vaguely apprehended ends.

These, then, are the social aims of education: (1) the socialization of the individual, earliest defined in terms of conformity to prescriptions, *ultimately in terms of ethical judgments*, but unless he be socialized in one way or another, the final product of education can only be a more efficient selfishness; (2) the training of the individual—at its lower

levels in terms of crafts, professions, funds of knowledge, and techniques of living, at its higher levels involving the potentialities for an *art of living*, for a richly meaningful existence; the third aim (3) has as one of its aspects the continual negation and rectifying of the specific content of the first two. It is the replacement (by research into new truth) of the old and false, but clung to, by the new and proved, though fled from

There are many social benefits of education not explicitly stated in its social "aims," many of which derive secondarily therefrom.

Thus research is the ultimate wherewithal of all progress, short of the wasteful, slow, and humanly costly methods of sheer trial and error. Research is thus the ultimate means to solution of myriad insignificant details at one extreme and to the problem of perfect integration of the personality of man and perfect harmony of world social functioning at the other. And when it courageously attacks really important problems and unrestrictedly follows to the conclusions which reality dictates, then it is impossible to overemphasize the importance of research.

The background of factual knowledge and theoretical principles, together with the analytical and critical habits of mind which, in its best forms, education inculcates, are, as Ross has pointed out, the best antidotes for mob-mindedness, for group prejudice, for demagogery, cultism, provincialism, sectarianism, and many other items which threaten the harmonious and socialized functioning of persons and groups

Eventually, indeed, education will probably do more than the religious prescriptions to brotherly love in bringing about a universal understanding. The common background of knowledge, the common bases for scales of value, and the common rationale for behavior which it must eventually supply on an earth-wide scale (since science is one and not multifarious as are the mores) will give a universal

community of attitudes and values and of stimulus-response potentialities which will be the basis for a spontaneous and free-flowing "consciousness of kind," a firmer basis for, and a more pervasive influence towards the oneness of man than any authoritative command to regard as brother him who, because of ethnocentrism and the clash of reified divinities, cannot be so regarded. Stripped of their rationalized cloakings—customs, creed, and breed—the real motivations of individual and of group conflict must eventually emerge in their stark economic reality and be dealt with for what they are, which presupposes some slightly greater chance for coping with them. In thus destroying the subjectivated reality of the mores, in casting from the pagan Olympuses the Many, and in now and again disturbing upon Sinia the security of the ethnocentric One, Education and her colleague, Science, lay the bases for new spiritual values, new brotherhoods, and a new ethic, all of them less cloyed with superstition, rationalization, and fear. And universal because arrived at inductively, susceptible of proof, inescapable!

But one would not imply that a general appreciation of these aims on the part of educators is in any way tantamount to their realization. Ignorance is a social problem and no social problem is simple, but ramifies out into all the others. Thoroughly to settle ignorance and education, one must also settle inequality of opportunity, must settle poverty, health, political organization, industrial order, eugenics, and so on *ad infinitum*. And reverse phrasings are equally true, so much in the solution of other social problems depending, in turn, upon education. Take education and eugenics. How can education attain complete realization of its aims, especially the third aim, in one of its aspects that of making the individual the arbiter of his own beliefs and actions, when there are populous "levels" of innate ability in the group to whom seventh-grade content is an unattainable achievement? More or less, all must go for-

ward together; and the complete realization of the aims of education is Utopian in the sense that the solution of any major social problem is Utopian; that is, in that the complete solution of any one waits upon the complete solution of all.

And with more limited application, education also entails antisocial results, the snobbish alienations between the pseudo-intelligentsia and *hoi polloi*, the exploitation and control of the ignorant and manipulable many by the trained and adroit few, etc. There are thus items other than the nature of the process itself upon which depend the manner of the carrying out of the functions of any institution. "Education," says Todd, "is both static and dynamic; in one age conservative, in another radical and progressive." That which determines whether it is merely the handmaiden of a prevailing system of production or religious thinking, or whether it is the destroyer of superstition and special privilege is largely a matter, "first, of content and method of instruction; second, of incidence, *i.e.*, whether it is universal or the privilege of certain classes, third, of control, *i.e.*, by whom administered."

If the content of the curricula be archaic crystallizations of traditional beliefs and values, and if the method be deductive or that of rote learning, then education becomes a stumbling block to progress. Babington traces 2,000 years of Chinese stagnation to the rule of her scholar governors, and the thousand-year Dark Ages in our own cultural continuity are quite as much to the point. We have parochial schools and denominational colleges perpetuating the first fallacy. And the second, rote learning, permeates our entire educational system. The mass methods made necessary by a universally compulsory education have made rote methods inevitable and defeated a primary aim of education, to make the student think for himself.

For quantity education is almost necessarily passive, rote-memory education. With a few salutary exceptions,

it is only the student in graduate seminars at universities who is really encouraged to think for himself. For the rest, it is a case of handing back at examination time, quite unsullied by any mulling over in their minds, the predigested pap currently spoon-fed over the semester period. Of course, a certain absorption of background is necessary before the individual can be trusted to think for himself. But it is questionable whether, even there, sheer rote memory should be the method, and it is certain that the individual should be encouraged to handle his materials dynamically, creatively, and critically at the earliest possible moment. This should become the ingrained habit.

But real individuation, the production of individuals cut loose from preconceptions, reifications, and arbitrary prescriptions and left free to think for themselves in all realms, is expensive in time and in caliber and numbers of teaching personnel, more expensive than the taxpayer in an only mildly enlightened democracy will stand for. As a result, the kind of mind developed in our schools cannot be depended upon to deal intelligently with local and world tasks. Everett Dean Martin is reputed to have said that when the late Mr. Bryan threatened to print all his college degrees on his card in answer to the repeated statement that he was an ignoramus, the joke really was on the colleges! That is, leaders that are badly needed are not being produced, because the necessity for conformity coupled with a predominantly rote method has obliterated the dynamic mind that, unfettered by archaisms, might deal intelligently with problems of living. The rapidity of change in our modern world heaps upon us problems that are acute, vital, personal, and highly controversial; and many of their solutions must be in opposition to the established and the sanctioned. But we neither permit the research nor produce the leadership to yield us the solutions. There is not enough transfer from the problems of an artificial, bookish school, still too largely controlled by other and

vested institutions and classes and still tied to a stultifying method, to the problems of a live, pulsating, and ever so rapidly changing world

But, taking Todd's second point of the incidence of education, knowledge *must* be universally distributed if we are to retain our progress towards democracy or achieve our democratic ideals, if we are to solve our other problems of adjustment "The distribution of knowledge underlies all social reform." Anything less than the universalization of education means (1) "that the social machine must be geared to the capacity of the less intelligent"; means (2) "wastage of energy through the cleavages between class and class"; and (3) anything approaching a monopoly of education by a particular class "means a régime of status, autocracy, and exploitation."

It is not always noted, however, that universalization of education may involve, to paraphrase, a gearing of the *educational* machine to the capacity of the less intelligent with concomitant wastage of human material, mass methods, and *meaningless mechanization and mobilization*. The fact that our educational system today must care for the rank and file of our society presents problems that have never before existed for educational writers and theorists. Under the stress of that universalization, even our universities are retrograding to the rote method, to the formalized and diluted level of high-class (in the thoroughly American connotation of big and peppy) normal and trade (or professional) schools. With our narrow identification of education as the open sesame to success, school attendance at all levels has increased by leaps and bounds. This has made it impossible to establish rigid standards for a highly selected and trained group of teachers in America as is done in Europe, because teachers have increased in numbers too rapidly.

Then there has come the great danger of mediocrity which comes from teaching a heterogeneous group all by

the same method. Almost no provision has been made for the diverse needs of students coming from quite dissimilar social backgrounds. This lack has been particularly felt in exclusively industrial communities where the traditional English, Latin, algebra, and similar courses have been the basis of high-school instruction, and where the students leaving high school have been totally unfit, if not unfitted, for any constructive work in the community. The overformalized teaching is forgotten as soon as the school building is left, while definitely bad mental habits and escape attitudes remain. The mechanized school cannot but develop wasteful attitudes and habits of passivity, with all the damage of repressed, suppressed, and balked personalities, with their harmful compensatory habits and antisocial orientations, which are thus generated.

The most promising present step towards meeting the problem of the heterogeneity of the educational group, that of separating into different classes the superior, mediocre, and backward students, must evolve a technique for avoiding its threatened result in snobbery and rebellion in the playground and other social relations of these groups. And the objection of labor organizations to this sorting, arising from fear of caste distinction in educational content, must be met in some way that will definitely ensure the groundlessness of that fear. The advantage of realizing the potential contribution of the wasted genius in our population, and the sanity of fitting the mediocre and the dullard for rôles they will really fit are too valuable to be foregone.

Again, universalization of education has brought about regimentation. From the kindergarten up through the high school, one is impressed by the breathlessness of this process we call education. With clocklike precision the kindergarten children draw with crayons for fifteen minutes, build with blocks for another fifteen minutes, sing their songs, drink their milk, and rest. All to the accurate

timing of a watch. With the same monotonous haste, a sixth-grade class of forty boys and girls races through a meaningless program of, successively, drill spelling, an English lesson (sentence analysis on a particular day of "Her the gods loved and blest, with the flower of youth and beauty"), a history lesson of rote memory sentences about the Gallic Wars, and then are trotted off to calisthenics. The pupils are hurried because the teacher constantly prompts them to be quicker in their responses, the teacher prompts because she is told to finish a given amount of text in a limited amount of time, and she is so instructed because it is necessary that all classes keep abreast of each other or confusion in the administration of so large a group ensues. And so the mechanizing chain goes on. Institutionalism, even the supposed institutionalism of individuation, wants conformity! And the end result is wholesale methods, quantity production, and an "educated" product as different from what it could have been as modern stamped-out furniture is different from the lovingly wrought masterpieces of the medieval craftsman-artist.

In all of which we are interested to find a social genesis for a rather critical educational problem. To meet social need, education must be universal. But with the institutionalization of its universalization are precipitated tendencies that threaten seriously to interfere with the satisfactory achievement of the very function for which it was thrown up. Now that the universities also have gone in for stamped-out, quantity production, now that our industrial system has reduced products to monotonous uniformity and administration and discipline alike to red-tape direction following on the part of the multitudinous cogs in the machine and has reserved active thinking for the very few, now that newspapers, magazines, radios, movies, fashions, and political parties stamp whole levels of the population with an identical mediocrity of beliefs, attitudes, and values; and even that various institutionalizations of

coercive conformity (Legion, Klan, and blue law) have arisen; we have, despite the heterogeneity of class and creed and race and language, despite the preponderance of secondary-group contacts, and despite the multifariousness of potential contact, movement, and communication within our culture, a diabolical monotony of mediocrity in our general picture in some ways not rivaled since the coercive conformity of the ancient near-Orient. Or rather, we have a co-existence of extreme individuation and extreme standardization probably unparalleled in the previous history of the world—an individuation which often appears strangely immature and uncognizant of what it is all about really, a conformed mediocrity which, however much it gives the superficial appearance of its opposite in nonessentials, is always basically there. Certainly, one must say of our population at large, that its individuation has not set it loose to philosophical analysis of the orientation points of belief and value and action; that it has neither intellectual curiosity nor aesthetic appreciation nor ethical (as opposed to moral) motivation, that, such as is its individuation, it has been achieved as much in spite of our educational system (as such) as because of it.

Finally, taking Todd's third point, it is important who controls education. "If education be committed to priests or ministers of religion, it will be chiefly concerned with dogma, tradition, and a social system that will support them. If it be governed by a class, say the prosperous upper section of the middle class, it will reflect the mores of prosperity; if by an aristocracy, the prejudices and conservatism of the leisure class." In point are the English "public" schools, accused by Galsworthy of being caste factories, the German schools presumed to turn out (in the old Germany) obedient servitors of a militaristic state, the schools of the Chinese scholar-philosophers, the schools of Soviet Russia.

Education is too important a mechanism of control per-

haps ever to escape constant renewal of the attempt to use it in their own interests on the part of one subgroup or another. The state, religion, classes, and individuals have a vital interest in how youth is being shaped up during the so plastic years spent in school. Industrialists, labor groups, international idealists, the government, its military department, the church, *free-thinking societies*, the Klan, the Legion, reform organizations, radicals, reactionaries, liberals—all these would like to see specific additions to, and deletions from, the content of courses in economics, civics, sociology, political science, history, biology, psychology, anthropology, ethics, and religion. Education is too important a means of group control for us to *expect* it to escape efforts to manipulate it

And the uninterfered-with carrying out of its so vital functions is much too important for education not to resist those efforts to control it, to produce a professional ethics on the matter, and to guard the ethic with organization

Even where conscious attempts to control the group through controlling education are obviated, the thing is bound to happen to a greater or less extent unconsciously. Education is expensive and requires funds; and colleges and universities require enrollments. Inevitably, auto-morphic choices in the school to which one sends his son or daughter get a cumulative result. Inevitably, the prospect of heavy endowment, or the more forceful pressure of withholding it for reason, gets reflected in the picture which the school must present as a pleasing prospect for endowment. And this all the way from the content of its courses in religion or economics to the extent to which the football tail is allowed to wag the university dog to the delectation of the rejuvenated, but prosperous, alumni!

Even more subtly is education a mechanism of group control—in this aspect control *of* the group *by* the group rather than by some subgroup. Endowers, trustees, elected or politically appointed boards of governors, village school

boards, teachers, pupils, and parents alike are human. Alike, more or less, the traditional belief systems and taboos have been subjectivated into apparent intrinsic reality for them. Here, as in any of the other activities of life, the temper of the times, the mores of the group, the *Weltanschauung* of the society gets an unsolicited if indeed not an unrecognized expression. Hence it will probably be long before education can thoroughly achieve its third aim of negation and replacement of the old, even within the mental universes of its own instructional staffs. The best thing for the freshly graduated alumnus of the average university to do would be to set to it at once really to educate himself, to do it all over again, especially in the field of the social and the personal.

Education, in sum, is a quite human institution, and no more worthy than religion or the family or current morality are found to be of the uncritical superlatives, omnipotences, and omnisciences attributed to them in the general paean singing. It is functioning only fairly well with regard to its first two aims, it will be long before it encompasses its third aim as negator of the old and false, as proponent of the entirety of the new and true. The complete achievement of its task hinges upon the carrying forward of the solution of many other interrelated social problems, and the approach to Utopia seems to wait upon the arrival there. But her influence is in that general direction. And perhaps some day she and her colleague Science, will acquit themselves right valiantly in their task to replace belief with knowledge, faith with critique and logic, shibboleth and prescription with reason tempered to all the relativity of the individual case, to replace our meaningless muddle with a fine art of living, to replace authority with experiment and independent judgment, division among men with oneness and the bases for mutual understanding, and ethnocentric moralities with an ethic cogent and universal because inescapable!

THE RELATIVE VALUE OF VARIOUS TYPES OF EXTENSION AND SUMMER-SCHOOL COURSES¹

ZENOS E. SCOTT AND JOHN GRANRUD

The superintendents of schools of Hampden County, Massachusetts, are accustomed to meet informally for the discussion of professional problems. The members of this association have been interested in the relative value of various methods commonly employed to improve the service of teachers; and, since a number of school boards in the County have adopted salary schedules granting differentials to teachers for additional training, they have been especially interested in the relative value of various types of extension and summer-school courses taken by teachers in service in order to improve their teaching.

The extension and summer-school courses ordinarily taken by teachers in order to improve their teaching may be classified roughly into seventeen groups. Undoubtedly there is value for every teacher in each one of these types of courses; but it is reasonable to believe that some courses, as customarily taught, are more effective in enabling a teacher to improve his work, and should be taken prior to those of less value.

The relative value of these courses has not and probably cannot be solved scientifically. Subjective opinion must always govern a dean of a college of education who outlines a program of courses, a supervisory officer who advises a teacher concerning advanced study, or a teacher who enrolls in a course. Since the relative value of different types of extension and summer-school courses cannot be

¹This article could not be included in the May 1932 issue because of lack of space. The study was carried on by a special committee of the Hampden County Superintendents' Association. The members of this committee were John R. Fausey, West Springfield, Benjamin J. Phelps, Agawam, Ballard D. Remy, Longmeadow, Charles Russell, State Normal School, Westfield, Zenos E. Scott, Springfield, Chester D. Stiles, Westfield, John J. Desmond, Jr., Chicopee, John Granrud, Assistant Superintendent, Springfield, Chairman.

determined scientifically, the members of the association desired to secure the opinions of a large number of competent people concerning them. It was believed that a collective opinion would be superior to the opinion of any individual

In order to secure such a consensus of opinion, a rating scale listing seventeen types of extension and summer-school courses was prepared and opinions concerning the relative importance of these courses were secured from about 8 per cent of the best teachers in Hampden County, from 119 supervisory officers of Hampden County, and from 113 professors of normal schools and colleges.

Practically every teacher in Hampden County has taken some advanced training while in service; but for the purpose of this study it was requested that the courses be graded in terms of the *typical teacher*, assuming that this typical teacher has obtained little or no additional training through extension courses or summer-school work since graduation from normal school or college. It was further assumed that this typical teacher has had about ten years of teaching experience.

In rating this scale the judges did not imply that an exhaustive knowledge of any field must be acquired before study in another field may be commenced, but rather that reasonable acquaintance with certain specified fields of study is of primary importance. It was also understood that the value of these courses varies in accordance with the needs and interests of individual teachers, as well as with the relative ability and scholarship of the professors giving the courses. In the administration of such policies as are being formulated on the basis of the results of this study, it is necessary to make exceptions.

There was remarkable agreement on the part of those rating the scale as to the relative value of the seventeen types of extension and summer-school courses. There were, of course, a few individuals whose opinions were not in harmony with those of the group. Nevertheless, there is

a definite, consistent, and easily understood attitude as to the relative value for teachers in each of the school divisions of different types of courses as customarily taught, which is held in common by the teachers, supervisory officers, and college professors who rated this scale. Correlations between the ratings of the several groups were computed by Dr. L. P. Young, director of research in Holyoke, and found to range between .8 and .9.

There was almost complete agreement that the following courses are of primary value, regardless of the grade taught by the teacher and regardless of his previous training. method courses for subjects taught, courses based upon the curriculum of the school and taught by instructors acquainted with the school's course of study, educational psychology, and courses in general methods. Incidentally, courses in general methods were consistently rated higher by teachers and supervisory officers than by college professors. Courses concerned with the health and recreation of pupils were believed to be of primary importance for elementary-school teachers; courses dealing with educational and vocational guidance and the subject matter in the field actually taught by the teacher were considered to be of primary value for teachers in junior and senior high schools.

Likewise, there was almost complete agreement that the least valuable courses for the typical teacher, regardless of previous training and of grade taught, are school administration and organization, current problems in economics and political science, cultural courses of a general nature, and educational sociology.

There was an intermediate group of courses concerning which there was considerably less agreement. There were judges in each school division who considered courses in educational tests, measurement, and statistical methods, philosophy of education, and general professional education to be of primary importance; others considered them of less value. Incidentally, philosophy of education was consistently rated lower by the teachers than by the supervi-

sory officers and college professors. In general, these courses were regarded as of average importance.

The eleven types of courses listed above maintained approximately the same relative positions of importance for all grades. The relative importance of the other six types of courses listed on the scale was considered significantly greater for certain grades than for others. The importance of courses dealing with subject matter in the field actually taught was emphasized for the teacher of grades 4 to 6, and was considered of even greater value for the teacher of grades 7 to 12. Related subject matter also received a significantly higher rating in the upper grades. Educational and vocational guidance was considered of secondary importance for elementary-school teachers but of primary importance for secondary-school teachers. Health and recreation of pupils, ethical training, and supervision of instruction were rated significantly higher for elementary-school teachers than for secondary-school teachers.

As has been said, there exists at the present time among the teachers and supervisory officers of Hampden County and among the college professors rating the scale, a consistent and definite attitude as to the relative value of various types of extension and summer-school courses as customarily taught. This attitude is held in common by the members of each of the groups who rated this scale, regardless of the school division in which they have specialized. In the future different practices in teaching may demand changes in opinion. For the present it is believed that general policies may well be formulated in terms of this consensus of opinion. To this end the special committee of the Hampden County superintendents is now conferring with representatives of the various institutions offering courses for teachers in Hampden County in order that a program of professional study may be developed which will be based upon this collective opinion.

DIVISION OF RESEARCH

In order that this section of THE JOURNAL may be of the greatest possible service, its readers are urged to send at once to the editor of this department titles and, where possible, descriptions of current research projects now in process in educational sociology, and also those projects in kindred fields of interest in educational sociology. Correspondence upon proposed projects and methods will be welcomed.

THE TECHNIQUE USED IN THE STUDY OF THE EFFECT OF MOTION PICTURES ON THE CARE OF THE TEETH¹

The experiment which dealt with the effect of motion pictures on children's conduct had very little that was distinctive in method. It was the application of methods in general use to the attack on a specific problem. Experiments with motion pictures in education usually have attempted to measure their influence on children's ideas and less often on their feelings or attitudes. In this instance the aim was to discover their influence on children's overt activities.

The chief problem in setting up the experiment was to find an activity which falls within the scope of educational aims, which is measurable, and for the incitement to which motion-picture films are in existence. This was not easy. After considerable exploration it was finally decided that the best chance of finding a suitable activity to study lay in the field of personal hygiene. The aspect of hygiene which was chosen because the activity seemed most readily measurable and the films most suitable was the care of the teeth.

While the choice was perhaps the best that could have been made, it was not ideal. In the first place, the films which were available were not as effective as would be

¹A study by Dr. Frank N. Freeman, professor of educational sociology at the University of Chicago. The December issue of THE JOURNAL was wholly devoted to the methodology of the Payne Fund Motion Picture Studies of which Dr. Freeman's study was a part. Limitation of space in that issue made it necessary to reserve Dr. Freeman's presentation until the present issue.

desired. They consisted partly in pictures giving information about the development of the teeth and the effects of lack of care, and partly in narratives intended to show that poor teeth are a handicap to children in their relation with other people. In the second place, the measurement of the children's conduct was not direct, but indirect. It was not possible by direct observation to determine how faithfully they brushed their teeth, ate proper food, or visited the dentist to have teeth filled or extracted. Reliance was placed on the children's reports of their behavior and on an examination by the dentist of the condition of their teeth. It is probably safe to say that if such indirect measurement yields statistically reliable positive findings they may be relied upon, but that the absence of such positive findings may not indicate that the films had no effect. The comparison did yield a slight positive difference, but whether this represents the total influence of the films we do not know. In the third place, the duration of the instruction was relatively brief—thirteen days. This was a relatively short time in which to change the children's habits of care for the teeth or of eating. The process of habit formation is notoriously slow.

The influence of the films was studied by the usual method of comparing an experimental with a control group. A sequence of lessons on the care of the teeth was carefully worked out under the direction of Miss Carolyn Hoefer of the Elizabeth McCormick Memorial Fund. These lessons were taught to both groups by Miss Mildred Dawson, an experienced teacher who had had advanced training in education. In the instruction of the control groups was included the use of other forms of visual aid but it did not include the motion pictures. The comparison, therefore, is not between instruction with visual aids and instruction without visual aids, but was rather between instruction with a large variety of visual aids including motion pictures and instruction with all the visual aids with

the exception of motion pictures. In other words, the motion pictures constituted the only variable in the plan of the instruction. This constituted a very severe test of the motion pictures.

An attempt was made to select groups of children who were as nearly alike as possible in general social and economic environment. They were chosen, of course, from the same grades and were of approximately the same age. Because of the effect of age upon the development of the teeth, however, it was found necessary to match the pupils by age. This considerably reduced the size of the groups. Account was also taken of the intelligence of the pupils in matching them. This matching justified itself in the results. In the unmatched groups there was no significant difference in the condition of the teeth of the pupils who saw the films and those who did not. In the matched groups, however, the film group was significantly superior although the difference was not great.

These are the essential characteristics of the technique of the experiment.

BOOK REVIEWS

Enriching the Curriculum for Gifted Children, by W. J. OSBURN and BEN J. ROHAN. New York: The Macmillan Company, 1931, 408 pages.

The most recent addition to the small but growing and vitally important list of books dealing with the education of gifted children. Part I, Principles and Policies, Part II, Materials and Methods. Favors enrichment rather than acceleration or special classes. Excellent discussion of the use of extracurricular activities in enrichment. Applicable to any school system.

Principles of American Secondary Education, by EDGAR M. DRAPER and ALEXANDER C. ROBERTS. New York. The Century Company, 1932, 549 pages.

The most important contribution of this book is the concluding discussion on the curricula of secondary schools. The first part of this discussion outlines the underlying principles of the secondary-school curriculum. The last part deals with the organization of the teaching staff for the work of revising the curriculum. It quotes from curriculum experts from leading cities in the United States with regard to methods of procedure in their curriculum reconstruction programs. *Principles of American Secondary Education* will give high-school teachers and principals a better understanding of their problems, and will serve admirably as a textbook to give students of education a preview of the field which they have chosen.

School Health Program. The White House Conference on Child Health and Protection. Report of Committee on the School Child, Thomas D. Wood, M.D., Chairman. New York: The Century Company, 1932, 400 pages.

A statement of the philosophy of education prepared by William Heard Kilpatrick. Summaries of the reports of twenty-four subcommittees: present school health activities, plant; medical, dental, nursing, and nutrition services, health education in kindergarten, elementary, and secondary schools, safety education, social hygiene, mental hygiene, administration, health surveys; private, parochial, Indian, and Negro schools, professional education of teachers and leaders; home and school cooperation, agencies cooperating with the schools. One of the Century series of publications of the findings of the White House Conference.

Principles of Health Education, by CLAIR ELSMERE TURNER. Boston: D. C. Heath and Company, 1932, xi+317 pages.

This book attempts to present the principles underlying a health program in the public schools with standard topics such as "The Development of the School Health Program," "Health Education Defined," "Public Health and Educational Reasons for Health Education in Schools," "Evidence of the Practicability and Educational Value of Health Education," "Health Education and Health Improvement," "Underlying Principles in Health Education," "Curriculum Construction in Health Education," etc. The volume is a practical handbook of worth to the beginning teacher in the elementary school.

Safety Education in Schools. White House Conference on Child Health and Protection. New York: The Century Company, 1932, xi+61 pages.

This monograph is one of the series of publications of the White House Conference on Child Protection and is the report of the subcommittee on safety education in schools. It is a brief summary of materials presented more fully in several other publications and in general will give the layman an idea of what the schools are attempting to do in safety education.

A Critical Study of Homogeneous Grouping with a Critique of Measurement as the Basis for Classification, by ALICE V. KELIHER. New York: Bureau of Publications, Teachers College, Columbia University, 1931, 165+vi pages.

One of the distinctive contributions to educational literature in the past few years is Dr. Keliher's critical analysis of homogeneous grouping. It is an empirical, comparative, and philosophical approach to the problem. It is a pleasure to find a study which may truly be labeled "scientific" and which has found it unnecessary to employ the customary statistical techniques. Basic assumptions in education concerning measurement, grouping, curriculum, and the school and society are stated and critically analyzed in the light of literature bearing upon each assumption and various philosophies of education that bear upon it.

A Study of Homogeneous Grouping in Terms of Individual Variations and the Teaching Problem, by MARVIN Y. BURR. New York: Bureau of Publications, Teachers College, Columbia University, 1931, 69+ix pages.

This study is based on approximately 3,400 scores obtained for fourth-, fifth-, and sixth-grade pupils. Significant among the findings is the overlapping of homogeneous grouping within a given grade. Seventy-eight per cent of the total grade range of achievement is found in each section of a grade even though the grade be homogeneously grouped. If such grouping is employed to the extent that there is no

overlapping, say, in reading, Dr. Burr found that this grouping brings about much overlapping in other subjects, for example, arithmetic

Parent Education. White House Conference on Child Health and Protection, Report of the Subcommittee on Types of Parent Education, Content, and Method, Sidonie M. Gruenberg, Chairman New York: The Century Company, 1932, 354 pages.

Sociological background of contemporary family life, and the related need for and development of parent education, with a discussion of types of program (national, State, county, city, university, church, and other) and methods (group teaching—lectures, discussion, radio, individual teaching—child guidance clinics and consultation services, directed observation of children; nursery schools, magazines and newspapers, etc.) The selection and training of leaders. Valuable to all responsible for the organization of parent education programs. One of the Century series of publications of the findings of the White House Conference

Experimental Child Study, by FLORENCE L. GOODENOUGH and JOHN E. ANDERSON. New York. The Century Company, 1931, 546 pages

A manual of experiments for use in a course in child study. All aspects of child behavior are covered. A splendid discussion of the methods of setting up and controlling experimentation, and of the statistical techniques useful in analyzing data and interpreting results. A clear, comprehensive, elementary manual for classes in genetic psychology. One of the Century Psychology Series.

Girls Should Know, by MRS. ALFREDA J. HOWELL New York: Fleming H. Revell Company, 1932, 167 pages.

Much has been written about the problems of young people and particularly the problem of sex, but most of the writers approach the problem timidly and give the reader the feeling that they have no solutions and even little help. Mrs. Howell knows the problems with which girls are concerned and treats them with a master hand. Probably the best sex teaching that could be done in the secondary schools would be to place this book in the hands of every girl. Certainly every teacher of youth should read this book.

Diagnosing Personality and Conduct, by PERCIVAL M. SYMONDS New York: The Century Company, 1931, 602 pages

A first critical evaluation of the growing number of instruments for the discovery and measurement of attitudes—rating methods, questionnaires, tests—with an excellent discussion of their validity and reliability, and the techniques involved in their use. Exhaustive bibliographies, a standard reference work indispensable to all students of the

behavior sciences and to all working in the field of guidance. One of the Century Psychology Series.

The Beginnings of the Social Sciences, by MARY M. REED and LULA E. WRIGHT. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1932, 224 pages

This book is another worth-while addition to the series on Childhood Education, edited by Patty Smith Hill and written by two experts in the field of the child and his development. Much of the material of the book is based upon the actual working out of the program with children—watching children at work, how the social sciences develop, the content, the organized curriculum, the functioning curricula, and the potential curricula, the latter containing suggestions of studies in which teachers need to engage, and the materials for which they need to arrange if the interests of children are to develop.

Educations for Political Citizenship, by DAVID SNEDDEN. New York. Bureau of Publications, Teachers College, Columbia University, 1932, ix+196 pages.

With characteristic force, the author deplores the failure of our school system to develop "civic virtues (civism) as essentially modern outgrowths of political and other large-scale cooperations." Three factors have contributed to this failure, the indefiniteness of our concept of "good citizenship"; the erroneous assumption that all subjects contribute to it, and that teachers even of the social studies are not specifically trained in this field. The book is written as a text in a proposed course in "civic educations" for teachers.

The Child and Play, by JAMES E. ROGERS. New York: The Century Company, 1932, 205 pages

An assembling and interpretation of the findings of the various committees of the White House Conference as they bear upon the rôle of play in the normal development of the child. Why children play, the challenge of a new age, play in the home, play outside the home, the school and play, municipal recreation, leadership in play, children's play today and tomorrow. This volume should be read by every leader and teacher in the field of recreation.

Lads' Clubs, by CHARLES E. B. RUSSELL and LILIAN M. RUSSELL. London: A. and C. Black, Ltd., 1932, 267 pages

This is a revision of an earlier book (1908) called *Working Lads' Clubs*. They provide a meeting place and leadership for underprivileged boys. This class, in the British Isles, however, is much more definitely defined as, even with the changes that have taken place since the war, class divisions are much more rigid there than they are in America. The book describes the work of these organizations and all of its

ramifications in great detail and with a splendid understanding of the educational and social philosophy of the movement

The Taxi-Dance Hall. A Sociological Study in Commercialized Recreation and City Life, by PAUL G. CRESSEY. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1932, xx+300 pages.

This book, the twenty-seventh in the University of Chicago Sociological Series, presents intimate pictures of the social groups found in typical taxi-dance halls. The history of the "dime-a-dance" institutions is traced and the social forces that are responsible for their development and present status are discussed. In the interpretation of the findings it becomes clear that the taxi-dance hall is a field for profitable sociological investigation for it involves such fundamental sociological problems as commercialized recreation, urbanization, community adjustments, Americanization, and education for leisure-time activities.

Human Heredity, by ERWIN BAUR, EUGEN FISCHER, and FRITZ LENZ. New York: The Macmillan Company, 1931, 734 pages.

A notable revision of what already has become a standard work on human heredity. Baur contributes Part I dealing with the general theory of variation and heredity. Fischer, in Part II, discusses racial differences in mankind. Lenz presents, in Part III, the morbid heredity factors; in Part IV, methods for the study of human heredity (an exceedingly fine analysis), and, in Part V, an interesting if somewhat controversial discussions of the inheritance of intellectual gifts. Valuable as text or reference in college courses in human genetics and eugenics.

Mental Deficiency Due to Birth Injuries, by EDGAR A. DOLL, WINTHROP M. PHELPS, and RUTH TAYLOR MELCHER. New York: The Macmillan Company, 1932, 289 pages.

A study of a group of feeble-minded children, in whom the mental deficiency seemed due to cerebral injury sustained at birth, to determine whether muscle training would result not only in motor improvement but in mental development. Of interest to all students of neurology, psychology, and physical therapy. Exceedingly interesting methodology. Of much theoretical interest, as it bears upon the relation of verbal and motor expression to the development of intelligence.

Efficiency in Vocational Education, by J. C. WRIGHT and CHARLES R. ALLEN. New York: John Wiley and Sons, Inc., 1929, 443 pages.

No educator who wishes to evaluate his own work or the work of others, whether in course building, in administrative work and control, in supervision, or in program work, can afford to be without this volume which is, in effect, the distilled essence of those factors of efficiency which have gradually evolved and most of which have sustained the test of practical application

BOOKS RECEIVED

- Alcohol and Man*, edited by Haven Emerson New York. The Macmillan Company
- Ancient Education and Its Meaning to Us*, by J. F. Dobson New York. Longmans, Green and Company
- Behind the Doors of Delusion*, by "Inmate—Ward 8" New York. The Macmillan Company
- College Prolongs Infancy*, by Horace M. Kallen New York. The John Day Company
- Cultural Natural Science for the Junior High School*, by Paul Ammon Maxwell Baltimore. Williams and Wilkins Company
- Direct Contribution of Educational Psychology to Teacher Training*, Yearbook No. 20 of the National Society of College Teachers of Education, 1932. Chicago. The University of Chicago Press
- Education and the Social Crisis*, by William Heard Kilpatrick New York. Liveright Publishers, Incorporated
- Education as Guidance*, by John M. Brewer. New York: The Macmillan Company
- Emergency Work Relief*, by Joanna C. Colcord, William C. Koplovitz, and Russell M. Kurtz. New York: Russell Sage Foundation
- Lectures on Endocrinology*, by Walter Timme. New York. Paul B. Hoeber, Incorporated
- Motivation of Young Children*, by Lucile Chase. University of Iowa Studies, Volume 5, No. 3. Iowa City. University of Iowa Press
- Our Children*, by Dorothy Canfield Fisher and Sidonie Matsner Gruenberg. New York. Viking Press
- Our Neurotic Age*, edited by Samuel D. Schmalhausen. New York. Farrar and Rinehart
- Parents and Sex Education*, by Benjamin C. Gruenberg New York. Viking Press
- Radio: The Assistant Teacher*, by B. H. Darrow Columbus. R. G. Adams and Company
- Scientific Method*, by Truman Lee Kelley New York. The Macmillan Company
- Sociological Analysis of Certain Types of Patriotism*, by Earle L. Hunter New York. Earle L. Hunter
- Spectatoritis*, by Jay B. Nash New York. Sears Publishing Company, Incorporated
- University Training for the National Service*, Proceedings of the Conference held at the University of Minnesota, July 14-17, 1931. Minneapolis. University of Minnesota Press

NEWS FROM THE FIELD

The American Journal of Sociology has inaugurated a service for the appointment of members of the American Sociological Society to positions in research, teaching, and administration. This service has doubtless been stimulated by the present economic depression. No fees are charged and the service is secured by writing to editors of the *Journal* at the University of Chicago.

Dr. Hugh P. Baker, dean of the New York State College of Forestry at Syracuse, has been elected president of the Massachusetts State College at Amherst. He succeeds Dr. Roscoe W. Thatcher, who is retiring to a professorship owing to continued ill health. It is expected that Dr. Baker will assume his new office about February 1.

The Department of Superintendence of the National Education Association will hold its annual meeting in Minneapolis the last week in February. The National Society of College Teachers of Education is one of the affiliated groups of this organization. One of the sections of this society is educational sociology. Dr. Charles C. Peters of Pennsylvania State College is chairman of this group and has arranged the following program:

The Influence of Stuttering upon Personality—Dr. Wendell Johnson, Speech Clinic Staff, University of Iowa

A Study in Prestige as Related to the Professions—President A. O. Bowden, New Mexico State Teachers College

The Relation of the Movies to Morality—Dr. Robert P. Wray, Pennsylvania State College

A conference of Universities on the subject, "The Obligation of Universities to the Social Order" was held in the Waldorf-Astoria Hotel in New York on September 15, 16, and 17. The Conference was conducted in four major sections.

I The university today: its aims and province

II The university and economic changes

III The university and governmental changes

IV The university and spiritual values

The Conference was called by Chancellor Elmer Ellsworth Brown of New York University for a historical reason, this conference is a significant part of the centennial program of the University, and had its counterpart a century ago. The Fathers of the University arranged a significant "convention" of one hundred leaders in American education and public affairs to render advice and counsel to the new university. The Reverend Dr. James M. Mathews, the first Chancellor of the University, declared,

We feel that we have much to do in devising and maturing a system of government and instruction, adapted to the state and wants of our country. It is on these topics

that we are desirous of having the views of such gentlemen as are here present, and we have been induced to invite this meeting, believing that we should both enjoy and bestow a benefit, by the measure. Whatever knowledge any of us can throw into the common stock must be for the advantage not of one institution, but of all. From the first, it was contemplated that this meeting should be introductory to others which should draw together in still greater numbers our leading men in the republic of letters.

Chancellor Brown followed this same purpose and plan in this new and celebrated assembly. Several hundred men and women eminent in education and public affairs attended the Conference sessions. It would make this story too long to undertake to list all the notable speakers at the Conference. Those interested will later be able to avail themselves of the published proceedings of this meeting.

Dr Thomas Jesse Jones, educational director of the Phelps-Stokes Fund, recently issued a significant report entitled, "Twenty Year Report of the Phelps-Stokes Fund—1911-1931." Besides describing the activities of the organization in general, a considerable part of this report is devoted to the progress of the interrelations of the Negroes and whites in the United States as well as the progress of the Negro in Africa. Students of sociology and social work will find this report a helpful handbook in this particular field of education and social progress. The administrative offices of the Phelps-Stokes Fund are at 101 Park Avenue, New York City.

CONTRIBUTORS' PAGE

Dr Read Bain, professor in Miami University, Oxford, Ohio, received his A B from Willamette University in 1916, his A M from the University of Oregon in 1921, and his Ph D, from the University of Michigan in 1926.

Dr L. L. Bernard, professor of sociology at Washington University, received his A B. degree from the University of Missouri in 1907 and his Ph D. from the University of Chicago in 1910. Dr Bernard is the author of *Instinct*, one of the well-known books in the field of social psychology.

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Mrs Selma M. Mathews, assistant professor of education in Ohio Wesleyan University, received her A B in 1920 from Kansas Wesleyan University, her A.M. in 1925 from Teachers College, Columbia University, and her Ph.D. in 1930 from Ohio State University.

Dr Zenos E. Scott is superintendent of schools at Springfield, Massachusetts. Dr Scott is one of the best known school administrators in the United States.

Dr James W. Woodard, special lecturer in social theory at Temple University, received his A B from Northwestern University in 1923, his A M from the same institution in 1924, and his Ph.D. from the University of Pennsylvania in 1932.

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EDITORIAL

School and community are becoming increasingly aware of a new group of educational problems—the problems presented by the socially inadequate and maladjusted. The community's attempts to deal with these problems—through social agencies, clinics, courts, and institutions—have shown the possibilities of adult reeducation to be limited. However, these inadequate and maladjusted personalities almost invariably yield a long history of childhood difficulties, and the community has tended to make the school the fulcrum in the whole program of prevention and readjustment.

Individualization and guidance for all children have been the basis of this educational program. But in every school population are many children who vary in one way or another from the average to such an extent that their needs cannot be met without specialized educational provision. Consequently, special education—for the physically, mentally, and emotionally atypical—has been a vital and growing complement to this program.

The major educational tragedy of the depression is the nation-wide tendency of school administrators, faced by the necessity of budgetary curtailment, to cut out special educational services. This policy must inevitably have an aftermath of individual maladjustment that will be with

us long after the financial aspects of the depression have been forgotten. To bring home to those responsible for the educational policies of our public schools the immediate need for and significance of these special educational services, the editors have asked the members of the White House Conference Committee on Special Education to take over this issue of *THE JOURNAL OF EDUCATIONAL SOCIOLOGY* for discussion of the problem.

HARVEY ZORBAUGH

ERROR

In the footnote on page 309 of the January number of *THE JOURNAL*, Dr Frank N. Freeman's title should have been given as professor of educational psychology at the University of Chicago.

HARD-OF-HEARING CHILDREN

ANNE C. NORRIS

In the report of the Committee on Special Classes of the 1930 White House Conference on Child Health and Protection, it is stated that there are in the United States "3,000,000 children with hearing impaired in various degrees." These children must not be confused with the 18,212 deaf children who are enrolled in schools and classes for the deaf, according to the same report.¹ There is a great difference in the two groups—medically, educationally, socially, and psychologically. Those whom we term the "deaf" became so either at birth or soon after and *before* they learned in the natural way to speak and use language. Deaf children require a special type of education which can be obtained only through especially trained teachers. It has been said that "deafness before the acquisition of language is a greater affliction than blindness."²

Among the hearing children of the regular grades of the public schools we find that some have hearing impaired in varying degrees. It has been estimated³ that there are 3,000,000 of them. If we think of these children as *hearing children with hearing difficulties* we can more properly comprehend them and their needs. Further, an important factor is that in most cases we must *discover* them. We must go through the schools with a sieve, and, so far, the best one obtainable is the 4-A or phonograph-audiometer. This instrument was developed as a result of a request from the Educational Committee of the Federation for the Hard of Hearing to its scientific committee for some method of testing the hearing of school children

¹White House Conference on Child Health and Protection, 1930, Committee on Special Classes, *Special Education: The Handicapped and the Gifted* (New York: The Century Company, 1931), p. 5.

²Helen Keller, *Midstream: My Later Life* (Garden City, N. Y.: Doubleday, Doran and Company, 1929), p. 81.

³American Federation of Organizations for the Hard of Hearing, *Commission on Education, The Hard of Hearing Child* (Bureau of Education, School Health Studies No. 13, 1927), p. 8.

which would be more dependable than the watch tick and whispered speech tests then in use. With the cooperation of the Bell Telephone Laboratories, 4,112 school children in New York City were tested in 1925. It was found that "595, or 14.4 per cent, will be classed as having deficient hearing, 3.2 per cent having defects in both ears, and 11.3 per cent in one ear only."⁴

Later tests in Boston⁵ and Chelsea⁶ showed that hearing acuity and health conditions had a bearing on each other. In a country day school where health conditions were excellent and where the children came from homes in which careful attention was paid to health habits, after-effects of childhood diseases, colds, and so forth, the percentage of children showing a defect was around 1 per cent, while 7.8 per cent had impaired hearing in a school of a thousand children in a thickly settled part of a city where children came from homes in which parents did not or were not able to give careful attention to health habits, etc.

In Rochester, New York, where hard-of-hearing children as a group were first recognized by a city school system, and where there has been in existence a thorough program of testing, otological care, and lip reading for a period of some years, it was found that 7.7 per cent had losses of 9 or more sensation units in one or both ears.⁷

In Wichita, Kansas, 6.4 per cent of the children had impaired hearing.⁸

The medical inspector of the schools of Philadelphia reported as follows.⁹

Our school medical inspectors routinely report a prevalence of slightly less than one per cent defective hearing or inflammatory ear disease in pupils, while on the other hand the majority of persons who have used the electric audiometer in

⁴Edmund Prince Fowler and Harvey Fletcher, "Three Million Deafened School Children," *Journal of the American Medical Association*, December 4, 1926, pp. 1877-1882.

⁵A. W. Rowe, and D. W. Drury, "Tests of Hearing of Five Hundred Average Ears by the Audiometer No. 2-A," *Archives of Otolaryngology*, May 1925, pp. 524-532.

⁶Eva G. Macnutt, addressing the Health Section, National Conference on Social Work, Boston, 1930.

⁷W. Bock, *Report of Special Work with Hard of Hearing Pupils in the Public Schools* (Rochester, N. Y.: Board of Education, 1930).

⁸Wichita Public Schools, Bulletin No. 21, August 1930.

⁹Division of Medical Inspection, Public Schools, Philadelphia, June 30, 1931.

schools have reported a prevalence of hearing defect of at least 7 per cent. School medical inspectors are usually unable, with their necessarily crude methods of testing pupils' hearing, to detect those cases where the hearing loss is less than 15 or 20 per cent

The above statement is proof that an adequate test is necessary. "The 4-A audiometer is a valuable first filter and its positive findings are wholly significant."¹⁰ With this instrument it is possible to test the hearing of forty children simultaneously. It consists of a spring motor phonograph using a magnetic reproducer which picks up the sound waves reproduced by the record and transforms them into electrical vibrations. These are delivered to the ears of the persons who are being tested through ear phones. A record is played on which are recorded two series of numbers, one reproduced from a woman's voice and one from a man's voice. The voices decrease in intensity, and, as the record is played, the persons tested are required to write the numbers as they hear them. A person's hearing is rated by his ability to hear these numbers.

We now know that many children thought to be behavior problems or mentally dull were laboring under hearing difficulties. They heard so much that it was thought they heard normally. Parents and teachers had failed to link up restlessness, inattention, strained facial expression, and failure in class with impaired hearing until the phonograph-audiometer test disclosed the defect. Even a slight hearing loss is a handicap to normal educational progress. It has been said by one who knows that "hearing is the deepest, most humanizing, philosophical sense man possesses."¹¹ Denied this sense, even in part, so that what is said is not easily and entirely understood, and adequate philosophy of life is necessary and usually has to be developed.

The discovery of a hearing defect is not enough. When a retest shows that there is indeed a defect an ear examination by the family or school otologist must follow. Ex-

¹⁰Allan Winter Rowe, "Unrecognized Deafness in Children," a radio broadcast, March 10, 1932

¹¹Helen Keller, *op cit*, p. 15

perience has shown that prompt and adequate attention returns many children to the normally hearing class or often arrests their trouble. "More important than remedial educational work is the prevention of deafness."¹² "Deafness is dependent on the physical capacity and ability as a background. The ear apparently suffers or is more sensitive to certain sources of toxemias than any other part of the body. The eye, for instance, is especially sensitive to the backbone. The ear is very much more sensitive to a pussy tooth, it is sensitive to various intestinal upsets—apparently more so than any of the other organs."¹³

A certain proportion of those children found in the screening process to be hard of hearing will need lessons in lip reading by a special teacher in addition to their regular classroom studies if they are to keep up to grade. It is estimated that approximately 342,000 of the 3,000,000 children with varying degrees of hearing impairment are in need of lip reading.¹⁴

The Sub-Committee on the Deaf and Hard of Hearing of the 1930 White House Conference reported that 3,873 hard-of-hearing children in the school systems of 61 cities were being given periodic lessons in lip reading.¹⁵ The more recent report of the Chairman of the Committee on Hard of Hearing Children of the American Federation of organizations for the Hard of Hearing, Inc, states that there were during 1931-1932 3,440 hard-of-hearing children in only 46 cities so provided for, not all cities included in the former report having been heard from.¹⁶

Hard-of-hearing children may need special seating in the classroom,¹⁷ periodic lessons in lip reading, or, in more serious cases, speech correction and vocational training

¹²J. E. W. Wallin, *A Brief Survey of Special Education in the Public Schools of Baltimore* (Baltimore, Md. Superintendent of Public Schools, 1929).

¹³Dana W. Drury, addressing the Health Section, National Conference on Social Work, Boston, 1930.

¹⁴C. S. Berry, *Preliminary Committee Reports*, White House Conference on Child Health and Protection (New York: The Century Company, 1930), p. 319.

¹⁵*Special Education: The Handicapped and the Gifted*, pp. 336-337.

¹⁶Anne C. Norris, "Committee on Hard of Hearing Children," *Auditory Outlook*, October 1932, pp. 323-325.

¹⁷Eliza C. Hannegan, "The Honor Seat," *Journal of the National Education Association*, November 1932, p. 242.

in addition to more intensive instruction in lip reading

At the present time there are three textbooks on elementary lessons in lip reading.¹⁸

The training of teachers of the hard of hearing is less elaborate than the training of teachers of the deaf. They should have work in lip reading, speech correction, voice development, and social problems of the hard of hearing.

In most cases the lip-reading teacher goes from school to school or from center to center. In Portland, Maine, there are grade teachers in several school buildings who have taken the course in lip-reading methods and are thus prepared to care for the children in their buildings. Periods of instruction are from one-half hour to one hour, and are held once or twice a week.

Rochester (New York), Baltimore, and Detroit, maintain *also* special classes for the very hard-of-hearing children. They are sent to the class from different schools and remain there for intensive work until such time as they can keep up with their grade. An audiphone is part of the equipment of the Baltimore class.

It has been found that (1) more hard-of-hearing children repeat grades than do children with normal hearing; (2) a hard-of-hearing child can, with the acquisition of lip reading, change from a backward to a bright pupil; (3) the estimated costs are less to give audiometer tests and provide lip reading than to reëducate grade repeaters.

In the actual findings in his Survey of Special Education in the Public Schools of Baltimore, Dr. Wallin found the duties of the Acting Supervisor of Deaf and Hard of Hearing of that city to be as follows: supervision; individual conferences, group meetings, surveying schools to discover those with hearing defects, individual testing of hearing; taking children to medical clinic for ear examination; keeping records, home visiting, teaching lip reading

¹⁸Martha E. Bruhn, *Elementary Lessons in Lip Reading* (Lynn, Mass. The Nichols Press, 1927)

Agnes Stowell Estelle Elsie Samuelson, and Ann Lehman, *Lip Reading for the Deafened Child* (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1928)

Olive A. Whildin and M. A. Scally, *The Newer Method of Speech Reading for the Hard of Hearing Child* (Bel Air, Md. Harford Printing and Publishing Company, 1929)

to adults and children; training teachers; working on course of study, organizing classes for both deaf and hard of hearing; observing hard-of-hearing children in regular classes; follow-up work; and vocational guidance for deaf and hard-of-hearing children when required.

In his recommendations Dr. Wallin states that "the education of deaf and hard-of-hearing children in the same classes is discontinued in modern practice. Hard-of-hearing children should be educated in a normal speaking environment."

An exception to such a recommendation is found in the Report¹⁰ of the Chairman of the Committee on the Hard of Hearing Child of the American Association to Promote the Teaching of Speech to the Deaf where it is stated that children "in the middle zone of deafness need all the help and advice that educators of the deaf can give them." (By "children in the middle zone of deafness" is meant those hearing children who have lost too much of their hearing and whose speech has grown too faulty to make proper progress in the regular grades, but yet who have too much hearing, speech, and language to be educated to the best advantage with the necessarily slower learning deaf)

The Children's Charter, an outcome of the White House Conference, is called by the Wyoming State Conference "the most remarkable, far-reaching document brought forth by any nation in this age, and which serves as the basis for the substantial improvement in the general welfare of our people through the pathway of child welfare "

Its Article XIII is as follows: "For every child who is blind, deaf, crippled, or otherwise physically handicapped, and for the child who is mentally handicapped, such measures as will early discover and diagnose his handicap, provide care and treatment, and so train him that he may become an asset to society rather than a liability. Expenses of these services should be borne publicly where they cannot be privately met."

¹⁰Anne C. Norris, "Committee on the Hard of Hearing Child," *The Volta Review*, October 1932, p. 521

And, finally, we have the following recommendations from the Conference ²⁰

1 Any or all of the research recommendations of the Second Conference on Problems of the Deaf and Hard of Hearing described in No 88 of the Reprint and Circular Series of the National Research Council, Washington, 1929, be put into execution as soon as possible

2 A more accurate term is needed for those designated as hard of hearing. It should be based on speech and language ability.

3. The laws providing for adequate detection of hard-of-hearing children, as well as for their compulsory school attendance, should be more carefully drawn and emphatically enforced.

4 The following surveys should be made:

a) Extension and continuance of surveys conducted in some cities for the detection of auditory deficiency among school children and the determining of the degree of deficiency

b) A survey of children classed as mentally deficient or retarded to ascertain, by means of adequate scientific hearing tests, whether their hearing is normal

c) A survey of the personnel engaged in teaching the hard of hearing

d) A survey of teacher-training centers, courses of training, etc

e) A survey of laws requiring aural examinations of school children as a basis for detection at such early age that remedial treatment would be possible

5 Adequate tests for the educational and psychological examination of hard-of-hearing children should be developed

a) Trials of various present tests for measurement of the intelligence of the hard of hearing

b) Test comparisons among the three groups the deaf, the hard of hearing, and the hearing

c) Development of thoroughly standardized tests, both group and individual, for the classification of deaf and hard-of-hearing children in schools in order that the incidence of feeble-mindedness among both groups may be better known

d) Determination of general distribution of intelligence of the deaf and the hard of hearing so that more adequate plans may be made for their educational and vocational careers

e) Construction of objective tests of speech and lip reading

f) Development of mechanical aptitude tests

g) Study of different methods of teaching as soon as necessary tests and scales have been constructed

h) Further investigation of the training of residual hearing

6. Thorough survey of curricula should be made, educational tests based on this survey should be constructed; and standards established

a) Comparisons of curricula for hard-of-hearing and hearing children

b) Investigation of present practice of time spent on lip reading

c) Study to determine maximum possible use of residual hearing

d) Study of the maximum possible use of visual education

²⁰*Special Education: The Handicapped and the Gifted*, pp 322-326

e) Investigation of amount of special training in a separate class or school depending on basic intelligence and amount of hearing of hard-of-hearing children

f) Credit be given hard-of-hearing children for lip reading in the grade schools Where speech courses are necessary credit should also be given for speech work

7 Thorough psychological study of hard-of-hearing children of pre-school age should be made

a) Wider use of visiting teacher to assist in parental education

b) Development of adequate hearing test for children of preschool age

8 Personality and character traits and emotion factors among the hard of hearing, both adults and children, should be measured

a) Psychological research on emotional difficulties likely to arise in the lives of hard-of-hearing children

b) Study made of social maladjustment of the hard of hearing with a view of effectively solving the problems presented

c) Study made of the number of children who are classed as mentally deficient who in reality have only defective hearing

9 Thorough study should be made of all occupations with the view to finding those most suitable for the hard of hearing in order that training in school may be directed towards such occupations

a) More adequate provision for placement and follow-up

10. Investigation of the cost of annual scientific hearing tests compared with the cost of education when hearing defects are not discovered

a) Study made of hard-of-hearing children who repeat grades

11. Consideration should be given to the feasibility of establishing, at some university, a national training school for teachers of the deaf and hard of hearing with ample facilities for research and adequate training schools.

a) Establishment of more normal-training courses for trained teachers who wish to become teachers of the hard of hearing, these training courses to be thorough and practical as well as theoretical

12 Medical provision should go hand in hand with educational provision especially in certain types of deafness

a) Deafness be made a reportable disease in order that steps may be taken for correction when possible, immediate steps may be taken towards the child's special education in cases of serious loss of hearing or where deafness is progressive, vision be conserved as well as hearing

13 More concerted effort to impress upon the medical profession and to acquaint the general public with the grave after-effects of many diseases of childhood which result in serious loss of hearing

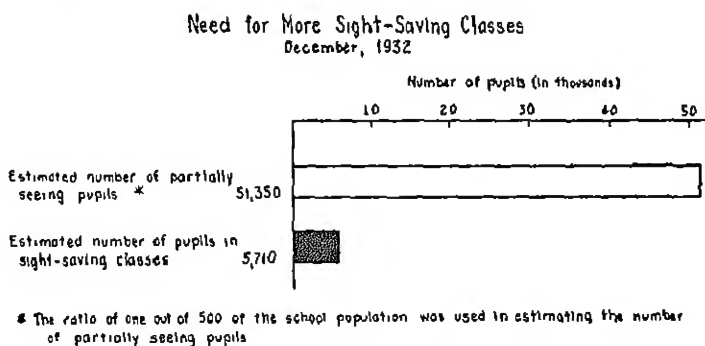
14 The establishment of a special educational center for the blind who are deaf or hard of hearing, not necessarily a school New cases could be sent to it for observation, classification, and elemental training and later admitted to schools for the deaf or blind or both in their home States Special cases might have to be provided for in this center

15 The hard of hearing who are feeble-minded should be segregated in schools for the feeble-minded and provided with teachers skilled in teaching the hard of hearing as well as the feeble-minded

EDUCATIONAL OPPORTUNITIES IN THE UNITED STATES FOR PARTIALLY SEEING CHILDREN

WINIFRED HATHAWAY

Although thinkers in advance of their times began to realize as early as 1802 that children with seriously defective vision are quite as much misfits in schools for the blind as in those for the normally seeing, the earliest practical application of this belief was the establishment of the first school for myopes in England in 1908. In 1911 the first school on the European continent was established in Strasbourg. The United States followed by initiating the work in 1913 with two classes, one in Boston and one in Cleveland. From this modest beginning the number of classes in the United States has increased slowly but steadily; at the close of 1932 there were 414 classes, representing 22 States and 119 cities.



EXTENT OF THE PROBLEM¹

The most conservative estimate of the number of children requiring the advantages of a sight-saving class is one in 1,000 of the school population, but in those States and cities that have had the longest experience in this work and have made the most intensive efforts to meet the needs, the estimate is much nearer one in 500. Exclusive of those pupils whose sight can, by treatment or glasses,

be so helped as to enable them to carry on their work in the regular grades, there are over 50,000 children in the United States who need the advantages of educational facilities specially adapted to their vision handicaps.

Encouraging as is the work already accomplished, the diagram on page 331 shows how much remains to be done.

CANDIDATES FOR SIGHT-SAVING CLASSES

And who are these children? In general, they may be divided into two groups: those with eye conditions that are likely to grow worse unless the sight is carefully guarded and those with low static eye difficulties who are unable to see well enough to use the regular school equipment.

The final decision as to which children belong in a sight-saving class rests with the ophthalmologist. But since ophthalmologists do not have the opportunity of examining all school children or even a very small proportion of them, the nurse and the school physician must have some guides that will help them to determine which children should be routed to an ophthalmologist for this decision. These guides vary so in different communities that only the following very general suggestions can be made.

Children having a visual acuity between 20/70 (6/21) and 20/200 (6/60) in the better eye after proper refraction, children in elementary schools having four or more diopters of myopia, and children suffering from eye diseases which are inactive or subsiding, in which some irritation may be present, provided the approval of the attending physician is given, should be sent to an ophthalmologist. Any child who, in the opinion of the ophthalmologist, would benefit by it, should be assigned to a sight-saving class, subject to suggestion for treatment and training by such ophthalmologist and the acceptance of the educational authorities having charge of such classes.

All cases must be considered individually.

It is assumed that all children assigned to sight-saving classes have average normal mentality.

ORGANIZATION AND ADMINISTRATION OF SIGHT-SAVING
CLASSES

When it has been demonstrated that there is need for a sight-saving class in a community, either through examination of the eyes of all school pupils or by deductions made from health records, the educational authorities must assume the responsibility for providing the educational facilities.

One of the earliest steps is the selection of a school building. Since these children are social beings it is important that they have opportunity for mingling as much as possible with their normally seeing companions. Segregating them in a group by themselves, no matter how great an advantage this gives them to overcome their visual handicap, is but robbing Peter to pay Paul, for their mental development is likely to be procured at the expense of their social relationships. In the United States practically 90 per cent of the sight-saving classes are conducted on the cooperative or the coordinating program by which these pupils do all work requiring close use of the eyes in a special classroom under the direction of a trained teacher, and join their normally seeing companions for oral work, dramatization, rote singing, music appreciation, and other activities that may be decided upon cooperatively.

Since the proportion of children needing this type of education is small as compared with the general school population, one class must often serve a district or a community. Hence, children in three, four, or even more grades will be found in the group. It is, therefore, essential to the success of the cooperative plan that a school having the same grades as those represented in the sight-saving class be selected. A centrally located school will help to solve the very difficult problem of transportation

Wherever possible, a modern building, or at least one renovated to meet modern requirements, is chosen since it is likely to approximate the ideal of correct lighting, seating, decoration, etc., somewhat as follows: east, west, or northeast or northwest exposures to give a maximum of light with a minimum of glare; unilateral lighting to the left of the pupils, glass area adapted to the proportions of the room, the glass reaching to within six inches of the ceiling since the best light comes from above; narrow bastions to prevent shadows; natural light controlled by two translucent, buff-colored shades placed on rollers near the center of the window, wide enough to avoid streaks of light at the side and with protection of the space between rollers, adequate artificial lighting without glare, well distributed and diffused and properly maintained; light-colored walls, preferably buff in temperate zones, white or light cream ceilings, neutral tone woodwork, all in dull finish to prevent glare, adjustable, comfortable, hygienic seats and desks that lift to an angle, also in dull finish; good slate blackboards kept in condition.

SPECIAL EQUIPMENT

The above equipment differs in no wise from that which should be afforded any child. For children with seriously defective vision the following special equipment is necessary: books in large, clear type; large size buff-colored paper; heavily leaded pencils; pens that make a clear, heavy line; chalk that meets the same requirements; typewriters in large type in order that typewriting may be substituted as soon as possible for much handwriting; large, clear maps without detail; good illustrative material and material for creative work specially adapted to the needs of the child with serious eye difficulties.

CURRICULUM FOLLOWED IN SIGHT-SAVING CLASSES

Pupils with seriously defective vision, to be eligible for sight-saving classes, must be of normal mentality. In the coöperative system they recite with normally seeing com-

panions. Furthermore, four and one-half per cent of the pupils assigned to sight-saving classes are able, in time, to return to the regular grades because adequate care and treatment result in improvement of eye conditions. From the foregoing it should be evident that the curriculum used in regular grades should be followed as closely as the eye conditions of the pupils permit.

SUPERVISION

A. Ophthalmological Supervision. Ophthalmological supervision includes not only the first examination of the eyes to determine candidacy, but also arrangements for regular subsequent examinations, for treatment for eye diseases, for prescribing of glasses where these are necessary, and for checking glasses with the prescriptions. It also includes making recommendations concerning the amount of close eye work that may be undertaken, and provision for the maintenance of careful records which are made available to the educational authorities so that teachers may be conversant with the eye difficulty of each pupil in order to fit the work to his needs.

In the United States such ophthalmological care is provided in various ways. by private physicians, by ophthalmologists of the board of health or the board of education, and by private agencies. Much of this care is excellent. It is, however, greatly to be deplored that in only 50 per cent of the classes is ophthalmological service regularly and adequately provided.¹

B. Pedagogical Supervision. In only two States, New York and Ohio, are all classes given the advantages of a special sight-saving class supervisor. In the great majority of cases the supervision is placed under the jurisdiction of a supervisor of all special classes. It is evident that to give efficient service such supervisor should be thoroughly conversant with all phases of the work. It is unfortunate

¹White House Conference on Child Health and Protection, 1930. Committee on Special Classes, *Special Education, The Handicapped and the Gifted* (New York: The Century Company, 1931), p. 220.

that in many instances the special training of such supervisors is limited to the work of but one group.

TRAINING OF TEACHERS OF SIGHT-SAVING CLASSES

A. Fundamental Training. The ultimate success of a sight-saving class depends upon the teacher. Naturally, the teacher of a sight-saving class should have the fundamental qualities and educational training necessary for teaching normally seeing children.

Since she must carry over into the special work the normal attitude and also since she will doubtless have to teach several grades, experience of from three to five years of teaching regular grades is essential.

B. Special Training. What shall be included in the special preparation and what shall be the length of time required to obtain special training are moot questions. There is, however, general unanimity of opinion regarding the inclusion of certain fundamental lines of study. First and foremost, a course should be taken on the anatomy, physiology, and hygiene of the eye including a study of refractive errors and common eye diseases, with opportunities, under guidance, for considerable observation in an eye clinic. Unless such training is adequate it is impossible for a teacher to adapt the work to the individual according to his needs. Second, a course in the organization and administration of sight-saving classes is necessary. This is essential for a thorough understanding of all phases of the work. Third, a course should be taken in methods of teaching sight-saving classes. Such a course is adequate only when developed through observation in a demonstration sight-saving class. Hence, opportunity should be included for this in the preparation work.

In all phases of teaching, education must be a continuing process. Out of the experience of the sight-saving class teacher will come the urge for further study—a reaching out to broaden and deepen her own educational life in order that she may, in turn, broaden and deepen educational opportunities for her pupils.

HEALTH OF SIGHT-SAVING CLASS TEACHER

The health of such teacher is of paramount importance, since the demands are usually greater than in the regular grade. Above all, she should possess excellent sight, because she will be required to spend this most generously to save that of her pupils.

OPPORTUNITIES FOR PARTIALLY SEEING PUPILS IN SECONDARY SCHOOLS

The same proportion of pupils eligible for secondary education will be found in sight-saving classes as in groups of normally seeing students. Opportunities in junior high schools are increasing almost at the same rate as those in elementary schools. A creditable number of cities are offering opportunities for continuing the work in the senior high schools.

VOCATIONAL TRAINING AND GUIDANCE

The same proportion of motor-minded pupils will be found in the partially seeing groups as in the normally seeing, for such the greatest opportunity would seem to lie in vocational training. Such opportunities for partially seeing pupils either in junior or in senior high schools are, at present, exceedingly limited. Development of these opportunities must be guided by the results of further research to determine what types of work may safely be undertaken by those with serious eye difficulties and what opportunities will be offered for actual employment along these lines.

EDUCATIONAL OPPORTUNITIES IN RURAL COMMUNITIES

It is natural, because of the increased difficulties in solving the problem, that very little has been done for partially seeing children in rural communities. It is greatly to be deplored that twelve States still feel that the solution of the problem is to send such children to schools for the blind.

Three States have already demonstrated that county classes will prove at least a partial solution of the problem. Another possibility may be found in the establish-

ment of sight-saving classes in the demonstration schools of teacher-training institutions. The fact that teaching in rural schools is largely individual opens the way for special work with partially seeing children in their own communities, provided that State supervision makes possible adequate help to enable rural teachers to formulate and carry out a program.

FINANCING SIGHT-SAVING CLASSES

The State makes education compulsory, hence it should bear its just proportion of the additional expense incurred by providing facilities for those who cannot make use of the regular equipment. Fourteen States have recognized their financial obligations for the education of partially seeing children. It is noteworthy that 94.5 per cent of the sight-saving classes in the United States are found in these fourteen States.

The justification for such investment lies in the possibility of changing potential liabilities into actual assets. The State's financial expenditure should therefore be accompanied by the setting up and maintaining of standards of requirements for supervision and teaching, for methods of establishing and conducting classes, and for the physical equipment of classrooms and the material to be used by the children.

ULTIMATE SOLUTION

It is evident that the State should assume the responsibility for the education of all educable children. Hence, for the 50,000 or more partially seeing pupils of school age opportunities as adequate as possible must be provided. Special education is, however, reaching alarming proportions and it would be a most uneconomic and short-sighted policy to overlook the fundamental principles of preventing, in so far as this is humanly possible, in succeeding generations, those difficulties that make special education necessary. Such undertaking calls for a co-operative effort—medical, educational, and social—to discover and eliminate causative factors.

TRENDS IN EDUCATION OF CRIPPLED CHILDREN

MARGUERITE LISON INGRAM

In the United States up until nearly a decade ago, there had not been any State-wide programs looking towards the solution of the educational problems of the crippled child. A few of the States previous to that time had legislation providing for medical care of this group. Some of the larger cities had developed splendid programs for the education and medical care of crippled children, but their interest in this problem had been entirely local. In 1921 there was organized the International Society for Crippled Children, a group comprised largely of lay-persons interested in the problems of the disabled. Through the promotional efforts of this organization under the inspiring leadership of its president, Mr. Edgar F. Allen, of Elyria, Ohio, thirty-three States have formed State societies. These State societies have created considerable interest in the problems of the crippled child and have sponsored legislation in behalf of this group. In these particular States there have been enacted many laws looking towards equal opportunities for crippled children, both from urban and rural communities, in the fields of medical care and education. The trend in legislation regarding education for crippled children is to provide them with opportunities equal to those of the normal child.

In the field of education, perhaps there has been no one who has had a greater vision of the possibilities for the crippled child than Miss Jane A. Neil. Miss Neil was for a number of years principal of the Spalding School for Crippled Children in Chicago. Her recent death has caused a deep-felt loss in the crippled-child movement in this country. Not only did she strive valiantly for enlarged and better facilities for the education and care of crippled children of her own city, but she has urged at

all times the establishment of special facilities for the handicapped child of the small town and rural community.

Because of Miss Neil's wide experience, her untiring efforts in behalf of the physically handicapped, and her broad vision of the entire problem, her services as chairman of the Crippled Children Committee of the recent White House Conference were of inestimable value. In 1930 this committee conducted the first scientific study of the problem on a national scope.

The committee learned in surveys made in some States that the ratio of crippled children averaged about 2.5 to 3 per thousand population. It was estimated, therefore, that there are 300,000 crippled children in the United States. It was also learned that about one third of this group need special educational facilities. Of this number approximately 10,000 or one tenth of that number were actually being provided with special educational facilities.

In 1930 sixteen States either required or authorized the establishment of special classes for the crippled. Eleven of the sixteen States provided some State support for these special classes and nine provided for State supervision of the work in the educational department. A few States provided for academic instruction in hospitals for crippled children, for transportation to regular schools, and for home teaching.

The problems of the crippled child are so complex that it is impossible to separate any one phase and to attempt to consider it to the exclusion of the other phases. The physical and medical side of this problem must at all times be considered if a satisfactory educational and rehabilitation program is to be carried on. The closest cooperation is necessary with the medical, social, and industrial groups of a community if the educational facilities for crippled children are to produce the best results.

In 1930 there were fifteen States which provided special classes for crippled children as part of the regular school

system. One other State had hospital classes but no other educational provision for this group. Admitted to these orthopedic classes which are under the supervision of the public-school systems are various groups of crippled children. Based on the policies followed by the various States in regard to which children shall be admitted to these special classes, the White House Conference recommended the following standards:

A crippled child eligible to attend a special school or class for crippled children is one who, by reason of disease, accident, or congenital deformity, cannot attend the regular school with safety and profit during the period of his physical rehabilitation, simultaneous mental training and social adjustment

A child for whom physicians and surgeons have recommended the daily care of nurses and physiotherapists

A child who must have transportation service to reach school, specially adjusted furniture, or other facilities

A child who needs special attention in vocational guidance, training, and placement

A child handicapped by cardiac complications or other medical conditions for whom no other provision has been made

A child who requires plastic surgery which must be followed by muscle training or speech training.

For the group of children who are unable to walk or to climb stairs it is very evident that school facilities different from those in most regular schools are necessary. The orthopedic schools are usually provided with ramps or elevators in order that wheel chairs may be moved about the building. With such provisions, a child using crutches or wearing braces encounters little difficulty in attending classes. At all of the special schools bus transportation is provided. In most of the special schools an entry to the building is provided which is protected and which has a landing level with the floor of the bus. Railings are provided along the hallways and in classrooms in order that children having difficulty in standing may have this support. In many of these special schools, matron service is provided in order that quite helpless children may attend. Only a few of the larger cities have provided high-school courses in the special build-

ings. It is being urged that all regular high-school buildings provide elevator service, thereby making it possible for many older disabled boys and girls to obtain higher education. Many of this group are now being deprived of this opportunity only because of their inability to climb stairs.

When the orthopedic classes were first established, some of the cities provided for the educational needs only of the crippled child and admitted just those children who had difficulty in attending regular schools. Other cities provided for treatment and supervision of the physical care of crippled children as well. In the group needing treatment are many children who, as far as their ability to walk or climb stairs is concerned, are able to attend regular schools but who come to the orthopedic school to receive the necessary treatment provided there. The tendency in most States at the present time is to provide therapeutic treatment as part of the service of all orthopedic schools and to admit this latter group.

There are many crippled children for whom no surgical care may be necessary but for whom some type of therapeutic treatment may correct or greatly improve their condition. In a few States, facilities for treatment of this group has been provided in convalescent hospitals. It has been found, however, that in orthopedic schools the same care can be provided at a lesser cost and under much more normal conditions for the child.

Since 1900, medical science has progressed far in the surgical treatment of orthopedic cases. Frequently, however, some of the accomplishments of fine surgical care for crippled children have been lost through the inability of the parents to provide the after care advised and which is necessary to ensure permanent results. Where orthopedic schools have been established, children who have been discharged from hospitals with recommendations for corrective exercises, muscle training, heliotherapy, hydro-

therapy, and other forms of treatment can be enrolled and the physicians' recommendations carried out for as long a period as is necessary. Each child to receive treatment in an orthopedic school is admitted on the recommendation of his physician or of an orthopedic specialist.

The physiotherapists who have charge of the treatment work in the orthopedic schools are either graduates of schools of nursing or physical education with additional training and experience in crippled-children work. The trend now is to have in the orthopedic schools those physiotherapists who have had a physical-education degree of university grade with the additional training necessary for work in the crippled-children field.

Another group of handicapped children usually cared for in the orthopedic schools is the children suffering with cardiac complications. Some of the children with certain forms of heart disease are too seriously ill, of course, to attend any school. Another group, with some restriction of their activity, can attend a regular school with safety and comfort. There are children in a middle group, however, who are able to continue with their academic studies and are usually able to keep up to grade if provided with transportation to school, do not need to climb stairs, can have several rest periods during the day, and can have all their recreation and exercise carefully supervised. Children in this group of cardiac cases are enrolled in orthopedic classes. Records are kept of their pulse and temperature and frequent reports are made to the physician by the physiotherapist at the school. A few children having other medical conditions such as diabetes, kidney complications, etc., are sometimes admitted to the orthopedic schools when their condition does not permit their attendance at a regular school.

Most orthopedic schools are provided with rest rooms where the crippled children and those with heart trouble may have as many rest periods as their physicians recom-

mend. In nearly all schools, noon luncheon and, usually, milk during the morning session is served. In a few schools breakfast is also served to those children who are very much undernourished.

In the classrooms of the orthopedic schools, special seats are usually provided the children with certain types of deformities. Seats have recently been manufactured which provide supports for the child wearing a cast or braces. These seats can also have the wooden back supports removed and be supplied with wide bands of webbing which can be padded in various ways to make both a corrective and comfortable back rest for the child having a spinal curvature.

The academic instruction in these special schools is conducted much as in regular schools. As far as possible the regular course of study is followed. When these classes are first organized in a city, there are always a number of children greatly retarded because of absence. In order to bring these children up to grade, much of the academic instruction in the orthopedic classes must be more or less on an individual basis. In the States where there has been established a complete educational program for the crippled child, one does not find so much retardation after a few years.

In some States where the special classes for crippled children have been organized for several years, additional requirements above those in regular schools have been set for teachers in orthopedic schools. Such cities have required postgraduate study of the problems of this group and also a certain number of hours in observation at clinics. In States where orthopedic classes have only recently been organized, academic teachers have been chosen from the superior group in regular schools, with much consideration to their personality, leadership, and ability to adapt themselves easily to all conditions.

In the White House Conference report the following recommendations were made regarding the requirements

for academic teachers. These recommendations portray very clearly the complexity of the educational problem of the crippled child:

It is manifest from these findings that teachers of crippled children must have exceptional qualifications and training. In addition to superior ability in teaching normal children, the requisites in personality are adaptability, willingness and endurance, controlled sympathy, and vision. The teacher of crippled children must be able to keep up to grade the children who are constantly becoming retarded by absences of hours, days, or weeks. She must carry on her class program in the larger schools in cooperation with the doctors, nurses, and physiotherapists of the treatment center, and coordinate her work with that of shops or with other special services. She is surrounded by children enduring discomfort, often actual physical or mental suffering, there are noises of crutches and braces, of wheel chairs, the shock of children falling and the necessity for helping, at all times, in meeting emergencies that are foreign to regular classroom teaching. Since the welfare of the crippled child is dependent in so great a degree upon the attitude and circumstances of the family, the teacher must be able to enter into their planning for his educational and vocational program. Vision is especially needed, when the time comes, to help tide the adolescent child through the spiritual crisis of realization of all the implications of his physical impairments, in their relation to his social and his vocational ambitions. These qualities, needed in any school for crippled children, cannot be too greatly emphasized for the teacher in the single-room class or rural school.

Skill in teaching in this special field depends largely upon a sound background of knowledge of child psychology, with an added insight into the emotional and mental significance of physical defect, upon a scientific understanding of the diagnosis, treatment, and prognosis of the diseases which are the chief causes of crippling, and upon training in the general principles of social case work and vocational guidance.

In some States, academic instruction is provided in orthopedic hospitals and in general hospitals having wards for orthopedic cases. A few States grant State aid for such instruction, in the others, the local boards of education pay the cost. Several States provide State aid for instruction given crippled children in their homes, but in most States this cost is paid by local school districts.

There is another group of crippled children who do not need the supervision of an orthopedic school but who are handicapped in walking to the regular school. Several

States have provided aid for transportation for this group. Several States have also provided aid for maintenance to assist crippled boys and girls in obtaining a high-school education. These are the children living in rural communities where no high school is established.

It was very evident in the survey made by the White House Conference that the crippled child of rural communities and small towns did not have equal opportunity with those living in urban centers. Since the time of this Conference, the Federal Bureau of Education added a member to its staff to study the educational problems of crippled children. At the present time a very extensive study is being made of crippled children living outside the urban centers by this Bureau.

The appointment by the Federal Bureau of Education of some one to study the problem of the crippled child has also fulfilled to a large measure the recommendation of the Conference that a national bureau of research and publicity be established for the problems of the crippled child.

Following are the general recommendations which were made by the White House Conference for Federal, State, and local organizations necessary to carry on an efficient program for the education and follow-up care of the crippled child:

The following organizations should be instituted

I A National Bureau of Research and Publicity

To study the best methods of giving the crippled child, according to his endowments, equal opportunity with the normal child

To study the end results of special education through individual case studies embracing large numbers of children over a period of years

To study the cost of education for crippled children under different methods, in the light of services rendered and end results

To establish terminology

To study the problem of rural children, with especial reference to those of mountainous regions and of the great plains

To plan for the extension of the services of the State and

Federal vocational rehabilitation bureaus to meet those of special schools and classes

To carry on a continuous program of publicity and propaganda based upon the constitutional rights of crippled children, not upon sentiment

2. An administrative unit, wherever feasible, in the State department of education, to which shall be delegated all powers and duties in connection with the care and education of physically handicapped children

To provide for the systematic enumeration of crippled children from birth to twenty-one years of age through a school census, to be taken annually by enumerators qualified to recognize the various types of crippling diseases and conditions

To maintain a central register of crippled children through a well-coördinated system of reporting from all agencies, organizations, and individuals concerned in the care of crippled children

To assume responsibility for coordinating the services of the State departments of health and welfare with that of education in a complete program for prevention, treatment, education

To work in close cooperation with the division of rehabilitation in developing a coordinated program for vocational guidance, training, and placement

To report children to local school boards

To promote and supervise special education in local school systems, serving in an advisory capacity on questions relating to local problems

To assume responsibility for proper legislation relating to provisions for handicapped children

To secure cooperation of medical and lay groups in the larger problems of prevention

To evaluate annually the work of the State and local communities

To develop effective methods of publicity in order that the public may have a thorough understanding of the value of special education for physically handicapped children

To encourage the establishment of training courses in higher educational institutions to meet the need for more and better trained classroom teachers, physiotherapists, visiting teachers, and vocational advisers

3 Special classes or schools

The public-school systems of local communities, city, town, or county should be responsible for the proper care and training of every individual crippled child

Although dictated by local conditions, organization, facilities, and methods should be based upon the findings of the Federal and State bureaus

THE PROBLEM OF THE MENTALLY RETARDED CHILDREN IN THE PUBLIC SCHOOLS

META L. ANDERSON

The problem of the mentally retarded children in the public schools is one from which we cannot escape. No matter what we do, that lower end of the curve of distribution is always with us. In the urban civilization which we have developed to such an extent in this country, we have become dependent upon each other. The greater need of coöperation is apparent. Weakness in any link of the chain inconveniences or actually hampers many of us.

The mentally retarded who have been trained and who have found their place in the world and are properly adjusted to it can and do make a contribution to society. Those not trained, not adjusted, find their way to the courts or to correctional institutions. In this they are not so different from other groups of average or even superior individuals as we might like to believe.

For some twenty-five or thirty or more years, school systems generally have made attempts to solve the problem of the education of mentally retarded children by segregating some of them into special classes and giving them special instruction. In many instances State laws have been passed directing the establishment of classes for the mentally handicapped whenever the number of such children in any given community warranted it. However, the subcommittee on mentally retarded of the White House Conference on Child Health and Protection found that in the drafting of the laws there had been little consideration given to the underlying educational and economic principles which should guide such legislation.

In spite of the State laws directing the establishment of special classes for the mentally retarded there is a wide gap between the need and the performance. Various

investigations have indicated that 2 per cent of the elementary-school population is feeble-minded and that 5 per cent is mentally retarded. If these investigations have presented a true picture of the problem, then any city school system meeting adequately the educational needs of its feeble-minded and mentally retarded pupils would have 7 per cent of its elementary-school population receiving special instruction. According to these figures a city with 5,000 pupils in its elementary schools should have 350 pupils in approximately 17 special classes, and a city of 50,000 should have 3,500 pupils in approximately 170 special classes. As a matter of fact, there are very few cities or States, if any, which are providing special instruction for any such number of mentally retarded children.

At the time the subcommittee on mentally retarded of the White House Conference on Child Health and Protection made its report, New York City reported 366 special classes, or approximately 7,320 (about 20 to a class) children, Chicago reported 162 special classes, or approximately 3,240 children, and Philadelphia reported 157 special classes, or 3,140 children. Eighty-three cities, out of the 270 cities reporting, reported but one class each or about 20 pupils, 59 reported only two classes each, and 26 cities reported but three classes each.

It is evident, on the basis of the known number of mentally retarded children, that comparatively few are receiving special class instruction.

The present economic crisis is tending to prevent the further development of special education for the mentally retarded, when it does not actually reduce what has already been developed. However, aside from the effect of the crisis, special education for the mentally retarded is entering a very interesting phase of its history. There are some trends which are fairly definite and which seem to point to a continued development of the work for the mentally retarded. There are other trends which are

not so definite as to direction and which seem to point to a continued interest in the work for the mentally retarded, but appear to indicate a solution of the problem of the education of the mentally retarded in other ways than in special classes. This at least indicates that special education is not tradition-bound and can, even now, although only twenty-five or thirty years old, be open-minded to different ways of training dull and feeble-minded children. If better ways of training backward children emerge because of the pressure of the crisis, we can say that "sweet are the uses of adversity"

One trend in the education of the mentally retarded which is definitely indicated and which bids fair to be continued is that which tends towards better social grouping of the children, whether in special classes or elsewhere. The grouping together of all sizes, ages, etc., of mentally retarded children is considered poor educational policy.

Another very definite trend is along the line of remedial teaching. It is no longer defensible to decide that inability to learn is always due to sheer stupidity of the mentally retarded child. The good special-class teacher analyzes disabilities and applies remedial measures.

Still another definite trend is shown in the tendency to incorporate the manual-training subjects into an integrated activity program. The beginning special classes trained the children through a correlated program of manual-training and academic subjects. In the special classes the curriculum has ever been the means of training children rather than an end in itself, but as special teachers of special subjects have been brought in the special classes it has been necessary to keep close watch on the situation in order to keep the emphasis on the children instead of on the subjects. In this present era of emphasis on activity programs for elementary classes, it is still necessary to keep close watch on the situation in order to keep the emphasis on the children to be taught instead of the pro-

gram of teaching. No matter how interesting the program may be, the children are still more interesting.

These definite trends in the education of mentally retarded children towards better social groupings of children, towards better teaching methods and remedial measures for special disabilities, and a better integrated program of activities and academic subjects are the logical outcomes of the work which has already been done in the special education of dull and feeble-minded children.

There are other trends in special education whose direction is not so definite, but which are nevertheless clearly indicated in the present situation in special education. One of these trends is indicated by the tendency on the part of school authorities to disapprove of any sort of segregation whatever, except for the definitely feeble-minded. If segregation in the sense of isolation as opposed to integration in the school system is meant, then segregation should be disapproved because special classes should be a part of the individual school and of the school system to which they belong. If the objectors to segregation mean that all mentally retarded children (exclusive of the feeble-minded) should be returned to their own social groups in the elementary, junior, or high schools, then the value of such a course is open to question. This trend against segregation indicates the need of a more satisfactory solution of the problem of their education than is presented through special classes. Before a decision can be reached a careful study of the types of solution at present attempted should be made so a better plan for the education and training of dull and retarded children can be arranged which will include whatever good that has been done.

There is a decided trend towards a better understanding of the slower learning children and the children who are not academically minded on the part of the teaching body. This is splendid. A lack of understanding of the needs, abilities, and disabilities of this group has led to some hasty conclusions and some ill considered plans. Better

understanding of the dull children and a closer cooperation between the teachers of the regular school grades and the teachers of special classes will result in a better integrated school and school system where the spirit of "each for all, and all for each" will give every child his just due.

These trends whose direction is uncertain at present are the outcomes of this better understanding and the cooperation between teaching groups. The result can be nothing less than a greater good for the mentally handicapped child.

The subcommittee on mentally retarded of the White House Conference reached a few conclusions as to what ought to be done for the mentally retarded children.

1. *Objectives* "Special education in any given city should grow until it is in a position to train and educate all the feeble-minded and subnormal children in that city, including the provision for the education of the borderline subnormal children. Many of the borderline subnormal children are placed in classes with either the subnormal or the backward children, which is perhaps better than nothing, but cannot by any means be considered as adequate provision for this large group of children."

When any school system consciously plans to train and educate *all* the children of *all* the people, then it will not fail to educate and train the feeble-minded, the dull, etc., if not in special classes, then in some other fashion.

2. *Organization.* The committee recommended that a department of special education be established in every State which would "provide constructive leadership which would be an inspiration to every city, town, and hamlet of the State" This department was to be of "direct assistance to those localities and communities who cannot afford the expense of specialists in the field of special education."

The committee also recommended separating the feeble-minded from the mentally retarded and dull whenever possible.

The question of special classes versus special schools for the retarded children was not settled, because it cannot be

settled without regard to the specific community where such schools or classes are located, but the committee did agree that "in any event, whatever type of organization is used, it should be considered an integral part of the school system, and children completing the course satisfactorily should receive recognition for that achievement."

3. *Location* "Instruction of the subnormal and borderline subnormal children should be given in the division of the school system in which they will be properly placed socially, that is, the young children should be provided for in the elementary school, but the older children should receive their instruction in the junior or in the senior high schools or in both of these schools. In the junior and the senior high schools the instruction of the subnormal groups need not necessarily be in special classes, but rather by means of special courses adapted to their needs."

4 *Selection of the Children.* "The selection of the children who are to receive special instruction in special classes should be carefully and scientifically made by those trained and experienced in the field. This can be effected best by a child-study department headed by an educational psychologist who will have the services of physicians, psychiatrists, social workers, and other agencies to assist in determining the best type of training for any given child."

The committee made recommendations for the establishment of vocational guidance bureaus and for the supervision of the mentally retarded in industry. It recommended that methods of instruction and the subject matter to be taught be made the subjects of exhaustive experimental study and research

The committee could but survey the field and try to understand the trends in the field of special education and draw its conclusions accordingly, because "the solutions of the problems should be regarded as ever evolving. Better knowledge of the possibilities of the children of lower levels of intelligence must come from the continued study of these children and their special abilities or disabilities"

THE GIFTED CHILD

HENRY HERBERT GODDARD

When Thomas Jefferson wrote, "We hold these truths to be self-evident, that all men are created equal, that they are endowed by their creator with certain inalienable rights, that among these are life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness," it was perfectly well understood that he was talking of human rights, *not* of individual capacities, of social relations, not biological. The utterances no more implies that men were created equal in ability and in intelligence than it does that they were created of equal stature. And yet, as Dr. Henry Fairfield Osborn has well said, "The true spirit of American democracy, that all men are born with equal rights and duties, has become confused with the political sophistry that all men are born with equal character and ability to govern themselves and others and with the educational sophistry that education and environment will offset the handicap of heredity."

So subtle and settled is this idea of intellectual equality that any attempt to overthrow it meets with the most stubborn resistance in most unexpected quarters. It is now 65 years since William T. Harris called the attention of American educators to the fact that there were children in our schools who ought to be promoted oftener than once a year.

Most parents have always known that there were decided differences in the capacities of their children. The mother of John Wesley wrote that all of her children learned their letters in one day, with the exception of Molly and Nancy. It took them a day and a half. Likewise, teachers have probably always commented on the fact that there were some children who never seemed to work but always had their lessons.

In spite of all of these observations, we have been slow

to recognize that the pupils of every schoolroom in our graded system, though of the same chronological age, differ widely in inherited capacity to do intellectual work. We are indebted to Terman for a classification which tells us that 20 per cent of all children are of superior mental ability, while 6 per cent are *very* superior. This latter is the group which is provisionally considered under the title "gifted children."

While the question is still sometimes debated, it is now pretty generally conceded by biologists and psychologists that these students have inherited a superior brain which probably means that a larger proportion of the ten thousand million brain cells with which all humans are endowed have grown and developed to functional maturity. Terman has also shown us in his extensive work entitled *Genetic Studies of Genius* that these children are more healthy than the average child and that they come from families in which there are others of marked ability, thus pointing to the hereditary character of the condition.

This means that on the basis of twenty-five million children of school age in the United States, we have a million and a half who are equipped with a brain so much better than the average that they can cover the work of the curriculum in our public schools in approximately *half* the time required for the average child. It may be pointed out at this place that our term "gifted child" does not include the so-called "child prodigies" such as the Sidis boy, the Hardy boy, and the Stoner girl, who are all the products of home forcing and not examples of inherited ability. If these child prodigies prove anything in regard to education, it would seem to be that to force a child who has not the natural capacity spells ruin. As a recent writer has said of one of these three, "He is ready for the dust heap, a broken bit of human pottery that was baked too quickly."

Contrary to this experience, Terman's studies and the

experience of two large American cities after a ten-year experiment have proved that these gifted children are thoroughly normal and capable of profiting by every reasonable advantage that can be offered them.

The poets have sung of the evils of idleness itself, but for children with brilliant minds to be kept in idleness is a double sin. Some educators have appreciated this and various experiments have been tried for solving the problem. The first was the one proposed by William T. Harris whereby children should be promoted faster and thus get through school at an earlier age. This is an appealing thought but experience has shown that it is not the solution of the problem. The procedure which has created the most enthusiasm is what is known as "enrichment of curriculum." This, however, has sometimes been misunderstood. For instance, the writer recently found some classes in Germany where the gifted children were being provided for by an enrichment of the course of study. Further investigation showed that these were merely children who had done well in their regular classes and it was thought that they *might* do more work. Accordingly, they were put in a class by themselves and given *twice as much arithmetic* as they had been doing. In financial matters it is true that enrichment is having more of the same, more money. But enrichment of experience is not necessarily having more of the same kind of experience. Education, rightly understood, is experience. And so it comes about that the enrichment which counts in the education of gifted children is giving them a broader experience, utilizing their time in those activities which call forth their interest and contribute to their mental, moral, and social development.

The records show that some forty school systems have at various times tried segregating the gifted children into classes which were conducted on one or the other of these two plans, or sometimes a combination of both. Many

if not most of these classes have been gradually dropped for one reason or another, while the remainder have continued in a more or less perfunctory manner. They have never aroused great enthusiasm in parents, teachers, or school authorities. The fact seems to be that the "rapid-progress" idea does not seem to be the solution of the problem.

With the *enrichment* plan quite different results are recorded. More than ten years ago two of the largest and most progressive school systems in the United States, widely separated and independently, began work with their gifted children. They established special classes for them, which were conducted on the most approved enrichment plan. Today they have some fifteen or twenty classes each in the elementary grades and as many more children in the high schools. Everybody is enthusiastic about them. The writer attended a conference of the teachers of gifted children in one of these two systems and some near-by smaller systems that have adopted the same plan. The conference, an all-day session on Saturday, was attended by four hundred people—teachers, parents, and schoolmen.

If one is to judge by results, the solution of the problem of what to do with the bright boy and girl apparently has been found. It only remains for the patrons of our schools to understand the situation and support the school authorities in the establishment of these classes for the gifted child to come into his own. These children need special consideration and special treatment from a three-fold standpoint. First, in the interest of the children themselves, second, in the interest of the schools, and third, in the interest of the community.

First, the children themselves. They constitute a distinct group, so different from the rest that they cannot properly profit by the ordinary school routine. That has always been the case though not until recently have we had sufficient knowledge of child nature to understand it

Today child guidance clinics find a large part of their problems of maladjustment due to the fact that the child is so far above others in intelligence that he cannot tolerate the same kind of treatment that is proper for the average child. Public-school teachers who have looked into the matter realize that there are one or two children in every class that are wasting a considerable proportion of their time because it is impossible for the teacher to keep them occupied and at the same time do justice to the larger number of average children—especially when she does not understand the situation.

Second, from the standpoint of the school These children are maladjusted, out of sorts, and unhappy Every schoolmaster knows that that is the soil in which grow discontent, mischief, and delinquency, habits of laziness, anti-social conduct, and bolshevism. Among other things, the child develops a sense of superiority to those about him, with a consequent contempt for them and their thoughts and feelings. He gets to thinking of himself more highly than he ought to think. He gets to thinking of his own importance which is used for his own aggrandisement instead of for the welfare of the group. Personal power rather than social service becomes more or less unconsciously the impelling motive of his life He becomes a disturbing element in the school and much energy of teachers, principals, superintendents, and even boards of education is used up in trying to straighten out these cases of misapplied mental energy.

There has been serious and proper objection to picking out the bad boys from the school and putting them in a group by themselves because, by this means, the evil thoughts of each are pooled and become the common property of all There is no such objection to picking out the gifted children and putting them in a group by themselves On the contrary, all is to the good

Theoretically and practically, it is found that they work

together, each respecting the other's ability, they lose their self-conceit, because they find that there are others as bright as they are, there is a healthy mixture of rivalry and cooperation, and there is easily instilled in them by the teacher who has the right ideas the conception and habit of service to others rather than individual power.

In spite of the obvious advantages and desirability of these classes one sometimes hears objections to segregating these children into special classes. The same arguments would overthrow the entire graded system. The old ungraded system had some good points which we have lost, but all in all we would hardly go back to the old plan. There is little more argument for having in one group children of mental ages, say from 9 to 14, than there is for having chronological ages from 9 to 14.

A curious objection is sometimes met with to the effect that special classes are undemocratic! When the objection is honest it is probably due to confusion over the word "special"—it suggests *special privilege*. The case is similar to that of one of our large State universities which was subjected to a legislative investigation as a result of an assertion that the professors were "red." They were teaching socialism! The catalogue showed a department of *sociology*!

If democracy means equal opportunity for all, rich and poor, fortunate and unfortunate, then special classes are required, for no child has an equal opportunity in any class where he is forced to mark time because the majority are slower than he. Moreover this movement is merely giving to every child just what the rich and the special privileged have always had. Then parents with money enough to pay tuitions in private schools or salaries for tutors have seen to it that their children had the opportunity they required. Democracy demands that *every child* shall not only have public-school privileges, but that he shall have public-school opportunities adapted to his needs,

whether he be an average child, a blind child, deaf, crippled, mentally defective, or "gifted."

Third, from the standpoint of the community. It is a trite remark that we need leadership. We are woefully lacking in leaders. This is not the place to discuss the psychology of leadership, but it may be pointed out that the failure of a great many of our would-be leaders is due to the fact that they have too narrow a view of life. Too many people have specialized too early. They know their own specialty but they do not see its relation to other activities and to the great problems of group welfare. Too often our leaders have been people who had the zeal but not the knowledge or the wisdom. We have never educated for leadership. We have put all children through the same mill and we have accepted as leaders those who have ambitions or have acquired certain techniques or special controls, but who have not had the intelligence to apply whatever abilities they possess to the pressing problems of the times.

Here, however, are a million and a half children who are *born with superior brains*, who are capable of the highest development, whose very intelligence enables them to discover and appreciate the relation of the individual to the group, and who need only a little encouragement in school to become whole-heartedly devoted to the social welfare. Korzybski has said that the World War marked the passage of humanity from its childhood to its manhood. This would mean that at last society had become conscious of itself and its problems. If this were true, we would now be grasping every opportunity to develop ourselves to the utmost and to attack our social problems with the same care, intelligence, and forethought with which our most intelligent people attack their own problems. And one of the first to be attacked would be this question of the adequate education of these exceptionally gifted children.

The trail has been blazed. Two of the largest school systems in the United States have made independently a ten-year experiment in segregating these children in special classes and giving them an enriched program. Both of these cities have arrived at the same conclusion: that the plan is a success, that it is practicable, that results are most gratifying, and that it should be the next great move in education.

In view of these facts, the White House Conference recommended that such classes should be formed in all cities and that the work should be conducted on the enrichment plan

The Commissioner of Education of the United States and the National Educational Association were urged to promote this movement in every possible way. It was urged that all teachers in service and all persons preparing to teach should be made acquainted with the problems, with the plan and the methods, to the end that they might recognize the gifted child and do whatever is possible for him even in rural communities and isolated centers where it is not possible to get together enough of these children to form a special class. And the report concluded with the quotation, "Failure to develop the very bright to their very highest capacity represents waste of a kind that we can least afford"

THE EDUCATION OF BEHAVIOR-PROBLEM CHILDREN

HARRY J. BAKER

THE SIGNIFICANCE OF THE PROBLEM

Out of the great welter in recent years of social work, of visiting teachers, of psychiatrists, of psychologists, of sociologists are slowly emerging and taking form some fundamental facts about the nature of behavior problems. The analysis of causes of behavior maladjustments and the program of remedial, corrective, and preventive work are extremely complicated matters which have been left until practically the last in the entire field of handicapped children. Behavior problems are unique in that they tend to stimulate resistance and emotional stress in teachers, parents, and playmates, whereas teaching the blind does not tend to make for blindness in others, or deafness, or mental backwardness, as the case may be. They are distinct in the field of handicapped children in that the nature of their problem is so often regarded as merely lack of will power or some temporary casual factor which can be removed at will, but in the case of deafness it is immediately granted that there is a serious and permanent handicap and education must be built in the face of the handicap rather than hoping for its removal. Behavior problems are frequently felt to be a personal failure upon the part of the teacher, reflecting upon her teaching ability, and tearing down the social morale of her classroom, whereas she gets no such reaction if a child with serious vision defect cannot meet the standards of average children.

When we turn to affairs outside of school there are also unique problems for behavior children. The blind child is pitied, but not so with the child who takes toys from his neighbor, or teases the younger children, or who torments dumb animals. The older boy who becomes the nucleus of a gang and leads other innocent youths astray is not treated too considerably by irate fathers and moth-

ers And the parents and siblings of any blacksheep resent having their own prestige openly degraded by one of their own flesh and blood Truly it can be said that the so-called behavior-problem child offers some very complicated and emotional problems to himself, to his teachers, to his home, and to his neighborhood These problems do not end with the passing of the adolescent youth out of school, or even out of the home, in fact, the problems often continue to increase and multiply resulting in economic and vocational inefficiency, in vagrancy, in crime, in danger and loss to society, in costs of legal and police protections, in untold costs in unhappiness While this may all seem to be a very dark picture of present conditions there is hope for a better day for these unfortunate children since every one of the factors causing maladjustment has been studied and solved in isolated segments, here and there, and the real nature of the entire problem is known.

THE NUMBER OF CASES AND THEIR COST

The number of cases of behavior is a moot question, no one knows just how many there are. The difficulty lies in that behavior maladjustment is a matter of degree and what seems to be a problem to one teacher or in one home does not seem to be so considered in another. But if we limit ourselves to quite serious cases at least three per cent of the school population falls within this classification. If the definition is extended to very mild cases, but whose potential troubles are really ominous, we can easily increase the behavior quota to five or even to ten per cent. And if there is added to this number the children who are negative rather than positive and aggressive in their social reactions the number may easily be doubled again. It is estimated that at least four or five per cent of the total population at some time or other suffer mental and emotional upsets needing medical and psychological attention.

In the matter of cost the problem is very difficult since there are many ramifications. The cost of diagnostic ser-

vice, even on mild cases, is considerable, the costs for a hearing in the juvenile court or a short sentence in the detention home easily mount to one or two hundred dollars, and the cost is often one thousand dollars per annum for placement at a correction farm. These actual monetary costs are only a small part of the intangible costs in suffering, in thwarted ambitions of youth, in sorrow to parents. At present we spend our money for behavior problems where it does the least good, chiefly on remedial work with advanced cases, rather than on the preventive program in cases in the early stages where the costs would be relatively much less. This condition is partly due to the apparent and obvious urgency of the serious cases and partly to the less obvious need of treating mild cases in their incipient stages. The old adage of "Locking the stable after the horse is stolen" applies here forcibly.

THE CAUSES OF BEHAVIOR MALADJUSTMENTS

The modern keynote in behavior problems has changed from the problem child to the problems of the child. The child's problems are not only his but the home's, the school's, the community's, and often the child is hopelessly caught in a swirl of forces quite beyond his control, whose outcome for him can be accurately predicted as to their effects upon him once they are known and understood.

In the report of the committee of behavior problems of the White House Conference,¹ behavior cases were grouped into three classes according to the major causes of maladjustment, the nervous, the emotionally unstable, and the delinquent. Each of these types will be considered

Under the caption of the nervous child may be grouped all types of nervous or physical abnormalities which may lead to behavior maladjustment. Children are included here whose nervous vitality is low, cases of chorea, of physical immaturity, of glandular disturbances, of sensory defects, such as impaired vision, cases of defective hear-

¹White House Conference on Child Health and Protection, 1930, Committee on Special Classes, *Special Education, The Handicapped and the Gifted* (New York: The Century Company, 1931), pp. 491-534.

ing, of chronic illness, those suffering from all of the common infectious diseases of childhood, children who are crippled, and those whose general health is below par. It is not to be assumed that all children, much less a majority of children, suffering in some degree from these disabilities are to be classified as behavior problems, but there is a goodly number from this general group who manifest behavior difficulties which may be traced to the physical causes. Any of these types may illustrate the behavior pattern somewhat as follows: The child with uncorrected defective vision works under a nervous strain on account of his faulty vision, he becomes irritable, he seeks for recognition and approval through other channels, and approval may be pleasant to a certain extent even if it becomes social disapproval. Every child whose physical condition is not corrected and whose school program is not adjusted for the happiest success is potentially a behavior-problem case. In the findings of the White House Conference only one million out of ten million handicapped children are receiving any special education, and these nine million neglected cases constitute twenty per cent of the forty-five million children of school age. The special education for handicapped children is limited to larger cities chiefly in the eastern and northern sections of the country, and even in these centers it is still very inadequate to meet the real needs. The program of special education ranges from two to five times as much as for average children, and in periods of financial burden this program becomes curtailed. While behavior problems are not limited to children with nervous or physical disabilities, a goodly number have some such disabilities which probably play some part in their maladjustments.

The second class of cases is the emotionally unstable. Conditions within the individual are the prime cause. They may be predisposed to a weakness in the sphere of feelings and emotions, with a bent towards abnormal feelings of hatred or unnatural attraction to unusual objects of affec-

tion In children such manifestations are not usually considered as advanced mental instability but when these factors continue and grow in their adult lives these individuals often become mental patients. Emotional conflicts which average individuals weather without great difficulty conquer them. These conflicts may be incited in three principal ways. The first is the conflict between basic instincts such as fear, self-preservation, and the social mandates of unselfishness, desire for social approval, and kindred topics; the second is the conflict at adolescence between remaining as a child within the physical and mental protection of the home and the drive for independence, which is normal at this period; the third conflict may come at any time and it is the conflict between reality and phantasy, between having a used Ford and dreaming of a new Lincoln, and finally becoming so engrossed that the patient can no longer distinguish between fact and imagination. These three kinds of conflicts are particularly troublesome to those whose emotional maturity is below the expected average. To a certain extent the conflicts which arise among the first class of causes—the physical and nervous causes—may carry an emotional tone which tends to place the individual in the second class as well as in the first.

The third general class of causes of behavior maladjustment is delinquency. Under this heading are listed the great variety of social factors, factors arising outside of the individual himself, but working within him and upon him in many undesirable ways. Here is to be found the broken home, the overindulgent parents, the jealousy of younger children, the influence of the bad gang, the effect of an education not suited to the mental and physical needs of the child. It is very difficult to gather accurate and adequate data on the causes of behavior maladjustment but the great number of factors operating in this third field makes it seem probable that fully one half or more of the total of behavior cases arise in this group. Here is a fruitful field of endeavor for those reformers

who place all their faith in what environment is able to do. The child who is easily lead falls under the influence of undesirable factors and his path to delinquency is broad and the down grade is easy to follow. These factors operate more commonly in undesirable homes of poor social status found near the business and manufacturing districts, near docks and railroads, where the home itself offers less of a worthy nature and the street offers many more chances for gangs. There is a lack of feeling of ownership, and this district is inhabited by parents who are clinging to old-world traditions and language from which their own children are withdrawing and revolting. Whenever a location map is prepared of the active cases of juvenile delinquency in any large city such a map is almost identical to that of all other large cities, after allowance is made for varying geographical formation. In all cities there is also a scattering of cases throughout the entire area which represents the occasional individual case probably falling within the first two classes of causes

DESIRABLE PROGRAMS

There are at least three avenues of approach to the solution of the problems of behavior children: the school, the home, the community. The school has a definite responsibility for all cases of handicapped children, whether the handicap be physical, mental, or emotional. At present not more than ten per cent of all handicapped children are receiving the special education suited to the abilities and to the minimizing of their disabilities. The schools need more public support to put an adequate program into effect for all under-privileged children, since the costs are greater than for average children. Not only must provision be made for the definitely handicapped children but for those who deviate slightly from the average, such as children who are mentally slow. It is among dull children that the greatest amount of delinquency is found. The schools are well aware that the retarded child who finds

the school program too difficult, the child who fails frequently, who becomes a repeater and overage for his grade, who eventually leaves school with a pitiful educational record does not have the most wholesome and optimistic attitude towards life's problems. In the past five years several publications have appeared dealing with this problem.² In the program for average children the problem of mental hygiene in the daily classroom procedure is receiving more attention. The modern educational program is attempting to educate not only in the three R's but in the social contacts of the auditorium and play activities of the gymnasium. The school program is limited by lacking finances rather than in not knowing what should be done.

The problems of the home are being approached more vigorously than ever before as shown by the increase in the parent-teacher movement, in the child-study clubs, in the number of periodicals devoted to childhood, in the child talks in daily newspapers and by radio. These efforts are very beneficial as far as they go and they reach a large number of cultured and intelligent homes, but they do not, as yet, often touch the homes in which there is the greatest need. Frequently we hear that a certain talk to parents was fine, but that the people who most needed to benefit did not hear it. There is a practical difficulty in dealing with parents of problem children arising from the degree or seriousness of the situation. The most constructive work can be done when problems have not yet arisen or when they are still in the early stages, but in this period parents are not particularly concerned or alarmed. But after the case has reached a serious crisis there is usually much more parental concern and cooperation with the agencies which deal with their problems.

The problems of the home will not be solved within a short period, much less in one or two generations. Wit-

²Harvey I. Baker, *Characteristic Differences in Bright and Dull Pupils* (Bloomington, Illinois: The Public School Publishing Company, 1927), 118 pages.

Annie D. Inskeep, *Teaching Dull and Retarded Children* (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1926), 455 pages.

ness the fact that there are at least 200,000 infants born out of wedlock annually, that an equal number of children get into the hands of the juvenile courts annually, that each year 500,000 adults are sentenced to penal institutions and many of these are parents of children who must face the taunts and jibes of their playmates and the indifference or antagonism of their neighbors. However, there is hope even in these situations since the happiness of children in their homes, fortunately, is not merely correlated with high intelligence and culture, in fact, in some of the most impoverished homes, socially, mentally, and economically, we sometimes find a healthy emotional attitude and understanding between parents and children, although it may be on a very crude and elementary level. It is most unfortunate that mental neglect and emotional maladjustments—factors causing much of our delinquency—can seldom be preferred as court charges against inadequate parents, whereas corporal punishment and physical neglect have much greater esteem in the eyes of the law.

The third avenue deals with the agencies of the community outside of the home and the school which influence the life of the child. It has already been noted that the greatest areas of acute delinquency arise in the neighborhood of business and manufacturing centers, and it is in these places that the least is being afforded at either public or private expense to offset the undesirable trends. The residents of the so-called better sections take pride in their local church and in their neighborhood association, they are less concerned and are often unaware that their tax bills go to balance the budget in other districts where the public expense of crime and delinquency mounts to appalling figures. One sometimes questions the wisdom of spending millions of dollars, public or private charity, even in times of prosperity for families who make no attempt to secure employment or to change their living conditions even when under the supervision of some social agency. Again it should be noted that in isolated centers, here and

there, recreation programs, neighborhood houses, and community leaders have brought about remarkable changes, and this is a hopeful indication of what could be done on a larger scale. The activities of such organizations as the Boy Scouts and the Girl Reserves are to be highly commended, but all of them are dealing with isolated fragments of a large problem, and what is every one's business is no one's business when it comes to considering the situation in its entirety. There is needed a vigorous leadership and coordination of all of the social agencies surveying all of the needs and assigning them to suitable agencies now existing or to be created to meet these specific problems. *There is no inherently mysterious problem* which has not been solved, except that of finding out how to evolve a more understanding and comprehensive program and put it into operation on a large scale.

CONCLUSION

There is a place and there will continue to be a place for the individual diagnostician dealing with the problem of the individual case of the individual family. It is partly by presenting thousands of such cases that a picture of the total problem of behavior children can be painted. It is also part of the program for the sociologist to study community or group problems. There should be no rivalry or misunderstanding between the individual or the group method of approach, each should supplement and assist the other, neither alone can solve the problems of delinquency. Enough data have been gathered and interpreted so that the problems of individual or group delinquency are well known. The next step is to make this information articulate and to translate it into constructive action for the prevention of behavior problems in children. Up to the present the mere diagnosis of the situation has been interesting but has not materially lessened the number of cases. The hope lies in putting what is already known into practice on a large enough scale to meet the entire situation.

ORGANIZATION AND ADMINISTRATION OF SPECIAL EDUCATION IN THE PUBLIC SCHOOLS

LEWIS A. WILSON

"For every child who is blind, deaf, crippled, or otherwise physically handicapped, and for the child who is mentally handicapped, such measures as will early discover and diagnose his handicap, provide care and treatment, and so train him that he may become an asset to society rather than a liability. Expenses of these services should be borne publicly where they cannot be privately met."

The above paragraph from the Children's Charter, issued by the White House Conference on Child Health and Protection, not only indicates the groups of children who are in need of special educational treatment but also enumerates some of the other services essential to their welfare. Special classes or other special educational services are only a part of a carefully coordinated program of health, educational, and social service which must be provided if these handicapped children are to be adequately served. No one agency can supply all of the services needed. School administrators, responsible for the special educational services of these children, should secure the help and cooperation of all community agencies in the development of the program.

There are many difficult administrative problems to be overcome in providing adequate educational services for the physically and mentally handicapped children and many special groups to be served. There are tens of thousands of children so seriously crippled that they not only need special educational treatment but must also be provided with transportation, physiotherapy treatments, and, in some cases, with artificial appliances. Many of these children are home-bound and in need of home teaching or

special institutional care. Other thousands of children are found with physical defects so serious as to require special class training to conserve their vision and ensure their general education. The hard-of-hearing, the cardiac, the tubercular, the blind, the deaf, and those with speech defects add tens of thousands to the vast army of physically handicapped children. In addition, there are thousands of mentally handicapped children who are in need of special class training. The proper education of these children is a joint responsibility of the State and local communities.

The number of physically handicapped children in the United States is so large that it constitutes one of our major educational problems. In each State the number is also sufficiently large to warrant immediate action in providing the special services necessary to meet adequately the educational needs of these children. The most difficult administrative problem, however, is in providing special educational opportunities for the handicapped children living in the rural communities. In the larger urban centers there are usually sufficiently large numbers of children in each handicapped group to warrant the development of special class services. The urban centers usually have the wealth and other resources necessary to develop the work properly. On the other hand, the problem in the villages and rural districts is most baffling. There, the numbers of children in each handicapped group are so small that it is not possible to provide special-class services for them. Moreover, the financial resources of many of the rural communities are too limited to provide many of the special services needed. However, a considerable percentage of the handicapped children reside in village and rural districts. New types of organization must be provided if these children are to secure special educational opportunities.

As a result of the findings of the White House Conference on Child Health and Protection, we realize, as never

before, that the magnitude and complexity of the problem makes it impossible for any one agency, either private or public, to supply the necessary services. Among the major services to be provided are:

- 1 A health service to ensure competent and specialized medical care and treatment which is absolutely indispensable to the health of physically handicapped children.

2. A well-organized program of general education, guidance, vocational training, and placement for all children who cannot profit by the educational program provided for normal children.

- 3 A social service that will help them in solving their many baffling problems.

I wish to make a special appeal for a coordinated program of service for all handicapped children. Generally speaking, no one group has physical handicaps greater than another. The child who is partially blind is just as seriously handicapped as the child with paralyzed legs, the child who is partially deaf is as greatly handicapped as the one with crippled arms; while the cardiac or tubercular child may be carrying a burden as great as that of any of the others. All of these children must have special help if they are to make the most of their lives. The major administrative problems to be solved in providing adequate educational services for these children are as follows.

1. An accurate census of all handicapped children. It is obvious that a census of them is necessary if adequate physical care and educational services are to be given them. It is equally important to have the names of all children of preschool age in order that the physical and corrective work for the physically handicapped may be undertaken, and completed if possible, before the child enters school. The census would show the numbers in need of special class service, physical care, artificial appliances, transportation, institutional care, and home teaching, but it is just as important to know the number of partially seeing children who are in need of special-class services as it is to have a record of crippled children in need of

similar services. Every State should have a law requiring an annual census of every physically handicapped child from birth to eighteen years of age. Until we develop such a practice we shall never know how many of these children there are or where they live. The general statement that one child out of three hundred is physically handicapped is meaningless until we have its name, and know where it lives, and determine its physical and educational needs. That is the starting point of all effective work

2 An adequate program of physical care for all physically handicapped children whose parents cannot afford to provide the necessary services. All that we can hope to do for many of these physically handicapped children depends upon their receiving proper corrective care and treatment. At the present time these services are unevenly distributed. A child living in a large center can find competent medical service and, if its parents are unable to pay for it, the service is usually available at free clinics. On the other hand, a child living in certain rural areas cannot find adequate service available within a hundred miles of its home. Certain groups of physically handicapped children are given preferential treatment under the legal provisions of many States. Others are entirely neglected. Why should one child who is physically handicapped fail to secure corrective treatment when another is adequately cared for?

3. The development of adequate educational services. A considerable percentage of all handicapped children is in need of special-class opportunities. Others need transportation and still others home teaching. The development of adequate programs of guidance, vocational training, and placement are also equally essential for these children. Training for economic citizenship is of major importance to the handicapped child. This training must be so planned that it takes into consideration not only the

handicap of the individual but also the particular aptitudes and abilities which may be capitalized in the training program.

4. Adequate financial aid in developing State programs for the education of the handicapped. A careful study of the practices in the various States indicates the wide variation of the methods used for financing programs designed to provide educational opportunities for the handicapped children. The development of complete special educational services is dependent, to a large degree, upon adequate financing. To what extent is the State responsible for the providing of the necessary services? It will be impossible to develop in the various States, particularly in the rural communities, adequate educational services for the handicapped children, unless liberal State aid is given for it.

5. Advisory councils for the handicapped. There are in every State and in every community many agencies interested in one or more groups of the handicapped children. These organizations can become one of the greatest forces in the development of State or local programs if their efforts are combined and coordinated. Such a council would serve as a clearing house of information for physically handicapped groups.

6. Teacher training. The success of the special-class services provided by the State or local communities will depend, in a large measure, upon the training and experience of the teachers selected for the work. Every State should set up minimum standards for the certification of teachers of special classes. Only teachers with excellent experience and special preparation should be permitted to teach them. Special-class teaching is always more difficult than the teaching of normal children.

In order to develop properly a State program of education for the handicapped, provision must be made for the training of teachers. In some States, where the num-

bers of handicapped children in any one group are so small that only a few teachers are needed, the State can arrange to have the special teacher-training work provided by some of the larger institutions that are adequately equipped to do it. In other States, where considerable numbers of special-class teachers are employed, the State should assume the direct responsibility for this training.

7. Leadership and supervision. The development of a carefully coordinated program of special educational services for the physically and mentally handicapped children requires unusually competent leadership. It is one of the great undeveloped fields in American education. The program presents many difficult administrative problems in connection with the financing and development of the many unusual services which are essential. Furthermore, it is very desirable to have the active and coordinated coöperation of the large number of organizations in any State—social, medical, civic, welfare, health, service, and fraternal, that are interested in the physical care, education, and general welfare of the handicapped children. Many of these organizations are in a position to offer financial assistance as well as specialized services in the development of the program. The extent to which a State or community meets this baffling problem will be dependent, to a large measure, upon the competency of the leadership provided. Many large cities are also in a position to employ persons unusually well qualified to administer the work.

It is also necessary for the State, as well as the larger centers of population, to provide adequate supervisory service. The supervisors are in a position to render a very direct service to the teachers of handicapped children. Many of these teachers are employed in communities where no special supervisory service is available. In many cases, too, there are no other special-class teachers in the community. The supervisory service provided for these

special classes should be just as direct and frequent as that found in the elementary or secondary schools. Frequently, there is apt to be a feeling on the part of a teacher that a special class is not essentially a part of the regular school system. Whenever special provisions are necessary for any group of these children, the details should be carefully planned in advance, in order to ensure a reasonable coordination of the special-class work with that of the regular school. Adequate supervisory service should also be provided to ensure the proper development of the program.

Commendable progress has been made during recent years in providing educational opportunities for handicapped children. Special facilities have been given in most States for the education of the deaf and blind. Many of them have provided special classes for the mentally handicapped. During the past five or six years a few States have enacted laws for the physical care and education of the crippled children. Many progressive communities have organized special classes for children with serious eye or hearing defects. The organization of many of these special activities, however, has been due to the active leadership of lay groups or organizations interested in the education and general welfare of some group of handicapped children. As a result, very few States have a carefully coordinated program of education for all groups of handicapped children. It is time, therefore, for the school administrators to assume an active leadership in providing for a coordinated program of education for all of these children. The future citizenship and economic independence of tens of thousands of people depends, to a considerable extent, upon our ability to help them physically, educationally, and vocationally.

RESEARCH PROJECTS AND METHODS IN EDUCATIONAL SOCIOLOGY

In order that this section of THE JOURNAL may be of the greatest possible service, its readers are urged to send at once to the editor of this department titles and, where possible, descriptions of current research projects now in process in educational sociology and also those projects in kindred fields of interest to educational sociology. Correspondence upon proposed projects and methods will be welcomed.

PHILADELPHIA TRUANCY STUDY

The Philadelphia Child Guidance Clinic is conducting an interesting study of truancy under the direction of Evelyn Alpern, M.D. The cases studied are cases referred to this clinic in which truancy is a problem, not necessarily the only problem involved or the problem for which the case was referred to the clinic.

The study of truancy in this clinic is being done from these viewpoints: 1. An attempt is being made to study the psychological factors in truancy with a view to coordinating them with the sociological and emotional factors involved in the same cases. For the psychological study an analysis is being made of the tests given these children in the clinic—intelligence tests, educational achievement and diagnostic tests, mechanical and vocational tests. It is hoped that an analysis of these tests, on the basis of the abilities involved in performing them, correlated with all the test results, mental age, and school achievement, will reveal certain specific abilities or disabilities which, hitherto unrecognized or unguided, have been causal or contributory factors in truancy.

As a preliminary the clinic is interested in studying the relationship, in a general way, of I Q, mental age, educational age, and grade placement to truancy, by means of frequency distributions of each of these factors and individual profiles.

2 Sixty unselected cases of children in whom truancy is a problem are being studied from the standpoint of

family background, especially educational, economic and social status of parents, including attitude of parents towards school and education, in an attempt to determine whether any causative factors of truancy may arise here. Also the school history of the child and the child's attitude to school, home, siblings, and truancy are being studied in an attempt to find whether any classification of the type of child who plays truant may be determined. Some evaluation of results of psychiatric treatment will be included.

3 Also the attitude of parents towards the child who plays truant is being studied. Is there any fundamental attitude of the parent towards the child which may be a factor in causing the child to develop this type of behavior?

As a result of the observations the clinic has been able to make to date, it has been found that making an evaluation of any causative factors involved in truancy will require an intensive psychiatric study of a small number of cases to determine what some of the basic mechanisms involved in the development of this behavior may be. The clinic will attempt to determine what reactions in individual children may result in truancy and may possibly then be able to draw generalizations from this study as to what some of the reasons are why a child may be a truant and what some of the needs of the child are that such behavior satisfies. From an understanding of these factors, a therapeutic approach to the problem may be evolved. The clinic is now planning to take on intensive psychiatric study of individual cases in which truancy is a problem.

PUBLIC SCHOOLS IN RELATION TO THE PROBLEM OF LEISURE

This study is being made by the National Recreation Association, under the direction of Eugene T. Lies, who for many years, prior to the World War, dealt with the many and varied social problems which arise in the field

of family social work. Since the war Mr. Lies has been the social representative and lecturer for the National Recreation Association.

There are four major divisions to the present study training for leisure; relation of schools to the afterschool time of children, relation of schools to the summer vacation period, and the use of school facilities by the community. Forty to fifty school systems, large and small, and in different kinds of communities scattered throughout the country, are being personally visited by Mr. Lies. Some eighteen hundred other cities with a population of five thousand and upward are being dealt with by mail. The period of the study will cover about two years, including the time for compilation and writing of the report.

The National Education Association is much interested in the study and several of its officials have been helpful with suggestions. A visit to a city means interviews with the superintendent of schools, possibly some assistant superintendents, also with heads of departments in which the study is interested, the gathering and assimilation of printed and typed material bearing on the subject, and visitation of some of the local schools. An elaborate schedule is used and filled out on these visits.

It is hoped that the study may be of help finally to school authorities, recreation workers, and to organizations which are or ought to be interested in school progress, as well as to the National Recreation Association itself as a basis for still larger service along various lines than it is at present rendering.

BOOK REVIEWS

Spectatoritis, by JAY B. NASH. New York. J. H. Sears and Company, Inc., 1932, 284 pages

In 1921, Professor Robert E. Park used the term "spectatoritis" to characterize those deplorable American leisure-time practices which Professor Nash now so vigorously attacks. "Can America be trusted with leisure?" he asks. And his answer is perhaps best presented in the graphic title of his book—*Spectatoritis*. This book clearly explains that spectatoritis is the result of social lag—technical advancement has provided time and freedom for leisure, but leisure-time practices have not kept step with this new freedom.

Remakers of Mankind, by CARLETON WASHBURN. New York. The John Day Company, 1932, 339 pages

Washburne's latest study is the result of a trip around this ailing world. While en route he put a list of questions bearing on education to some of the world's well-known *illustrissimos*. These questions were general enough to permit almost any sort of an answer. The very nature of the questions has made Washburne's opus, despite its bulk, a mass of glittering generalities, often contradictory and sometimes meaningless.

Educational Yearbook 1930, edited by I. A. KANDEL. New York: Bureau of Publications, Teachers College, Columbia University, 1931, xiv+544 pages

The subtitle of this volume is "The Expansion of Secondary Education." It is in fact much more, including as it does in many instances much additional though related data. The countries discussed are the Argentine Republic, Australia, Austria, Bulgaria, Chile, Czechoslovakia, England, France, Hungary, Italy, Japan, Poland, South Africa, Sweden, and the United States. The book is fundamentally a reference work and as such its value is beyond question.

University Training for the National Service. Proceedings of a Conference held at the University of Minnesota, July 14 to 17, 1931. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1932, viii+325 pages

This volume represents the first attempt on the part of the universities and the Federal Government to study cooperatively what may be done to place before college and university students the types of positions available and the nature of the training required for preparation for these positions in governmental service. It is a valuable study presenting much carefully prepared information. Unquestionably such a volume opens up both to the universities and their students many new fields of opportunity.

College Prolongs Infancy, by HORACE M. KALLEN New York: The John Day Company, 1932, 28 pages.

This is one of a series of pamphlets being published by this company and dealing with questions of notable current interest. The author severely arraigns the college for false methods and false ideals in dealing with its students. Instead of college being a preparation for life it tends, according to the writer, to arrest development and prolong the period of helplessness. Very forcibly written and well worth reading.

Education in Hungary, by JULIUS KORNIS New York: Teachers College, Columbia University, 1932, 288 pages

The author of this volume is Dr. Julius Kornis, a member of the Hungarian Parliament and at one time Undersecretary of State in the Ministry of Public Instruction, and, in addition, professor of philosophy in the University of Budapest. What he presents in this study is excellent and well written, and gives a vivid picture of modern education in that restless land of the Magyars.

The Educational Crisis in Sweden, by CHRISTINA BOGOSLOVSKY New York: Columbia University Press, 1932, xiv+301 pages.

This volume is a study in comparative education, and as such it is a first-rate and valuable contribution to a field of modern education which, I regret to report, is receiving all too meager attention in this Republic. The book is a careful, systematic, and well-documented study. The bibliography is a masterpiece.

The Dark Places in Education, by WILLI SCHOLHAUS, translated by MARY CHADWICK New York: Henry Holt and Company, 1932, 351 pages.

This book, which in the original is known by the title *Schatten über der Schule* was written in German in 1930 by a well-known Swiss. The fact that it required only two years to be made available for the American reader is significant. Briefly, as the title indicates, the book throws its lenses over the shadier practices of education. These are not the gaudy imaginings of an overstimulated pedagogic brain, but actual and genuine cases called to the attention of the author, Dr. Scholhaus. It is a new way of treating the hoary question, "What ails our schools?"

Student Self-Support at the University of Minnesota, by JAMES G. UMSTATD Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1932, 205 pages

Student self-support during years of college attendance has long been a troublesome problem for both college and student. Data were secured, by means of questionnaires, from 5,676 of the 8,675 regularly enrolled students at the University of Minnesota in May 1929. Tabulations comprise 67 tables covering such topics as Relationship Between Earnings and Economic Need, Extent and Nature of Self-Support, The Effects of Student Self-Support, and Attitudes of Students Toward Self-Support. Suggestions for the improvement of local employment procedure were made and a wide range of educational, social, and economic problems were cited as demanding attention.

BOOKS RECEIVED

- American Business Leaders*, by F. W. Joslyn and C. S. Taussig. New York: The Macmillan Company.
- Anglo-German Imperialism in South Africa, 1880-1900*, by Raymond Walter Bixler. Baltimore: Warwick and York, Inc.
- Character in Human Relations*, by Hugh Hartshorne. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons.
- Farewell to Reform*, by John Chamberlain. New York: Horace Liveright.
- Psychiatry in Education*, by V. V. Anderson. New York: Harper and Brothers.
- Research Barriers in the South*, by Wilson Gee. New York: The Century Company.

CONTRIBUTORS' PAGE

Dr. Meta L. Anderson is connected with the Board of Education at Newark to organize and direct the work for mentally retarded children.

Dr. Harry J. Baker was superintendent of schools in Ohio from 1913 to 1917. Dr. Baker has been director of the Psychological Clinic of Detroit Public Schools since 1920.

Dr. Henry H. Goddard has had vast experience teaching in several of the well-known institutions in the United States. He is especially interested in the education of gifted children. Dr. Goddard has been professor of abnormal and clinical psychology at Ohio State University since 1922.

Mrs. Winifred Hathaway is associate director of the National Society for the Prevention of Blindness. She is the author of the first book issued on sight-saving classes, and co-author and author of numerous pamphlets and articles on this topic and on the general subject of preventing blindness and conserving sight.

Mrs. Marguerite L. Ingram has been director of the crippled children division of the State Department of Public Instruction of Wisconsin since its creation in 1927. Mrs. Ingram was a member of the committee on special classes for the crippled of the White House Conference. She has recently been appointed by the International Society for Crippled Children to study means of aiding the rural crippled child.

Mrs. James F. Norris is chairman of the Committee on Hard of Hearing Children, American Federation of Organizations for the Hard of Hearing, Inc., Washington, D. C.

Dr. L. A. Wilson has held the following positions in the New York State Department of Education: director of vocational education in New York State from 1911 to 1912, specialist in industrial education and teacher training from 1912 to 1915 and from 1916 to 1917; director of vocational and extension education division from 1917 to 1927; and assistant commissioner of vocational and extension education division since 1927.

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EDITORIAL

The unsettled condition in education, both in the matter of financing the unusual educational program in times of social chaos and the problem of adjusting our instruction to the needs of young people in times of such extraordinary disturbance, has led THE JOURNAL OF EDUCATIONAL SOCIOLOGY to center its efforts upon several of the more vital problems which educators are facing at the present time, with the object of providing material and discussions not found elsewhere and also of helping those concerned with the problem of education to meet the emergencies of the present.

The readers are already familiar with the special numbers presented during the current year. Commencing with the April issue we have an unbroken series of special numbers extending to May 1934 and including the following:

April 1933	Juvenile Delinquency and Education
May 1933	Educational Sociology and Educational Psychology
September 1933	The Introductory Course in Sociology in Colleges and Universities
October 1933	Educational Values
November 1933	Negro Education
December 1933	Character Education
January 1934	The Curriculum
February 1934	Child Guidance

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March 1934	Vocational Education
April 1934	Social Backgrounds and Informal Education
May 1934	Education for Social Reconstruction

The reader will see that these topics cover the most vital questions confronting the educator in the program of educational reconstruction. These numbers are prepared under the chairmanship of the most outstanding educators throughout the country and include contributors who are specialists in their fields covering the entire United States. It is gratifying to the editors to be able to present a program of such merit at the present time.

The sociologist and educator are under obligation for an unusual research prepared by the President's Research Committee on Social Trends and particularly for the valuable contribution of Dr. Judd as author of the chapter on education under the heading "Problems Resulting from Rapid Expansion of Education." Dr. Judd discusses the effect of criticism on our educational system and observes that "many of these problems can be solved only through experimentation which in some cases involves the compromise or even drastic invasion of vested interests and deep-seated prejudices." This careful analysis of current problems and proposals of methods for their solution represents a distinct contribution to the discussion of educational problems in this period of reconstruction.

THE SOCIO-PSYCHOLOGY OF LEARNING

JAMES W. WOODARD

This paper is only informally inductive in nature. A few case studies are briefly referred to, but nothing in particular is claimed, except a possible suggestiveness for further study, and the writer would be last to claim that the probable mechanisms mentioned are the only ones involved.

Formalized learning is not simply a psychological process; it is also a sociological process. It is not "learning," but "teaching and learning."

Experimental and statistical studies have been made of the influence of rivalry, of status rewards, and of working in groups as these affect learning. It is scarcely necessary to point out that these are sociological factors in learning, but we shall confine ourselves here to sociological factors which have not usually been emphasized.

The family patterns themselves carry over into the school group. The teacher, especially in primary- and secondary-school levels where one of them receives practically all of the brunt of the contact, is too important a person not to count emotionally. He and the school group come largely to provide the play group, to displace minister and church, and in a measure to offset the family. Certain it is that to the child of five or six in kindergarten or the beginning years of primary school the teacher embodies the theretofore parental functions of being the final arbiter of disputes, the utterly believed-in source for guidance, the dispenser of petty and jealousy-provoking discriminations, the dread wielder of discipline, the gentle encourager, the admirer who holds up one's accomplishments to others, and even the tender consoler. So great a "superposition of images" results in a displacement of those affectional

impulses to the teacher and in a duplication of those dependence aspects, which earlier characterized the relationship to the parents. Thus the teacher is apt to become a mother substitute, a father substitute, or a condensation of both, with all the ambivalence of love and hate, of affection and rebellion which that implies.

Such transference to the teacher, rightly used, is by way of an early important other-than-family-member focusing, a stage in the liberation of the love life and the ego strivings from the too close bonds of love and dependence within the family. These bonds, unless the liberation is sooner or later made, may prevent the ability to consummate that complete emotional outgo to some person of the opposite sex requisite for normal love and stable marriage. And (more important relative to "learning") they may jeopardize the development of the person's ability to stand on his own feet, especially when the dependence element is imposed upon to carry the burden of a rote-learning method unduly long, as is much done in our mass education in order to ease the task of school administration.

If the teacher's contacts are too affectional or too repressive, the teacher may get, in addition to the overreaction occasioned by the relationship of the child to himself, displacement of the pent-up love or hate towards the parent. The one example is the "crush" or "pet" so commonly observable in the elementary and secondary grades, the other is the utterly incorrigible pupil who neither behaves nor learns effectively.

There is the possibility that a person who leaves the family a latent rebel may leave successively kindergarten, elementary, and secondary schools with his rebel rôle more and more deeply imbedded. Such failure of teaching and learning produces, at best, an intellectual rebel whose emotional independence means a failure to absorb (to learn) the extant knowledge in his field before parading his own fallacious (because so independently arrived at) idea sys-

tems. At the worst, it produces a prospect for criminality or fanaticism.

There is, also, the opposite possibility where even a necessary individuation is not attained, where dependence persists, and the love strivings fail of their normal development. At its worst, the "crush," if intense and towards a teacher of the same sex, may be the preliminary of a homosexual trend later to develop. At best, this prolonged dependence may produce the person who has never learned really to stand on his own feet, in his behavior so thoroughly molded and conformed as not to be able to shift attitudes and values and to analyze out his subjectivated mores even when changed conditions urgently demand readjustment; and on the intellectual side, the scholar rather than the student, the rote learner of facts and theories, the quoter whose intellectual stock in trade is a nicely documented array of what other people think out.

We are only making the point that learning, since it involves this whole relational set-up, is a sociological process as well as a psychological one. First, general characteristics of independence of thought, intellectual dependence, even obstinate resistance to suggestions—and resulting plasticity, gullible tractability, initiative in analyzing and synthesizing material (and the lack of it as reflected in habits of rote memorizing and tabulating)—these have a great deal to do with the actual learning that a person does. Among any others, e.g., native ability, there are sociological factors involved in the explanation. We shall presently see that this is especially true when dealing with emotionalized material. Second, while we have traditionally examined how the teacher's personality and methods, how the texts and course contents have affected the learning by the pupil of the subject matter of the course, these, as stimuli, have meantime occasioned quite different responses which have escaped us. The student has "learned," in a strictly psychological sense from the apparatus for learning

which we have set up, many deeply resonant items not discussed in the formal treatises on education and learning!

So much for formal learning. If we take learning through the whole span of a person's life, our discussion has its implications for philosophy and epistemology as well. One could point to numbers of men prominent in diverse fields of learning who took their training under one of the great minds in the field two or three decades ago and to whom their mentor's teachings apparently became the completely satisfying guidance of the word-from-the-father image, clung to in its entirety as are the words of a master to his disciples, not one jot or tittle changed to the last in the face of innumerable and fundamental changes going on all around them. Indeed, the master-disciple relationship, with its fervor in acceptance of a teaching, warrants citation in its own right.

One could also point to other social-situational factors; e.g., personal alienations and status rivalries which have served as starting points for rival theories and systems and have led to "blind spots" in one theorist to cogent considerations which happen to emanate from a source which is personally unacceptable to him. Perhaps this is most in evidence in the psychoanalytic field, due to the emotionalized nature of the material. The branching off of Adlerian psychology from that of Freud and the failure up to the present of either of them to synthesize the cogent points of each into a balanced whole is a case in point. While there can be no doubt that Adler's different conception of human nature arose in part because he himself was differently constituted from his mentor, Freud, and hence had insight into a different psychological world than did the latter, neither can there be any doubt that it arose in part and emphasized its divergence very largely in terms of the social interaction of teacher and pupil. Before so august a body as the Psychoanalytic Society itself, Adler, much to the embarrassment of his rebelliously rejected

mentor, no doubt, astounded his audience by turning to Freud and saying, "Do you believe it is such a great pleasure for me to stand in your shadow all my life?" thereby betraying the pupil-teacher relationship as at least one half-consciously recognized reason for theoretic divergence¹

Who cannot pick some one of his colleagues whose instantaneous rejection of a rival school of thought can be read fairly easily in terms of the rivalry of the school as much as in terms of the thought? For example, behaviorism as opposed to structuralism, the scorching blasts of McDougall and Berman at both camps, and Robinson's satirization of the Gestaltists as a "little German band." One who has talked with a few of the prominent figures knows the intrusion of the same intense emotionalization between the extreme diffusionists and the other cultural anthropologists. No less, academic psychology and psychoanalysis; entelechy and vitalism as opposed to mechanism in biology, rural and urban sociology; quantitative and nonquantitative methodologies in social science; and logicians who dismiss Pearson with a gesture. True, many factors other than and many very indirect expressions of the factors we are directly discussing have in these latter cases intruded themselves. But if we have here left the clear-cut teacher-pupil relationships of formalized learning, we have not left those of would-be mentor to refuse-to-be follower in the broader connotations of the learning process and we have not left sociological factors of learning.

Thus we see that, as Ranke has maintained, psychoanalysis has implications for epistemology in the conception of truth and of idea systems. How much more so have both psychoanalysis and sociology when we consider the diffusion, acceptance or rejection, and the distortion of such idea systems. Together, the foregoing comprise all human learning short of the purely motor. Further study but

¹Cf. Francis Cecil Sumner, "Psychoanalysis of Freud and Adler," *Pedagogical Seminary* XXIX, pp. 139-168.

increases the tangentiality of the "learning" of a Lathrop Stoddard, possibly of an Eliot Smith. How necessary, then, is a thorough self-understanding on the part of the educators themselves if education is completely to replace the old and false by the new and proved.

The teacher's personality and the type of administration are therefore very important in these largely unrecognized aspects of teaching and learning and have not to date been carefully studied in that connection. The writer once gathered case material on all the teachers in a single school in a large city. Of ten persons on the staff at least eight were themselves personality problems. A very brief and untechnical condensation of these cases follows. (These were not patients and no attempt at adjustment was made.)

Case A. Girl, 26 Family slave. Intellectually dependent and emotionally fixated on father; highly ambivalent attitude towards mother. Poor health. Maladjusted since childhood, highly religious and group mores highly subjectivated. At 23, was seduced by the first person who had ever tried. Intense conflict precipitated in terms of love for the man and contravalent hate and guilt arising from the subjectivated parental and religious mores and the father fixation. Lost weight, worried, and developed hysterical overreactions, excessive and foolish laughter, etc. Cut herself off (as a "fallen woman" in her own eyes) almost entirely from church identifications, theretofore, next to her family, her most meaningful contacts. These traits still persist. Lives in (escapes into) an unreal, highly idealized world. Is "off the men," who are "all alike," but remains essentially mistress to her seducer. Is "psychic," with premonitory inklings, good and bad. Overt anal and oral perversion. Compensates by idealizedly tender handling of children pupils, spoiling them, occasionally irrationally cross with them.

Case B. Girl, 25. Jewish. Excessive ego drives and compensations for racial status, economic position, meager

personal presentability, and meager ability. Pathological liar; e.g., related her engagement to recent university graduate, football star, business success, and social élite, who turned out to be a nondescript widower with a child of three. Selfish (egocentric), money mad. Hard to get along with, disposition described by colleagues as "rotten." Peremptory and overfirm with pupils.

Case C. Girl, 23 Family slave and bisexual. Parents divorced, overidentification with and dependence on mother to whom she turns over her salary and whose advice is sought before action on most trivial matters. Sweet disposition and dutiful, what would be called "a good girl" in our culture, but overshy and a case of self-pity. Cries easily. Few men friends, but will ignore rest of a social group and hold hands with her girl chum. Violent hatred and embarrassment towards former girl chums from whom she is now alienated. Writes (and receives) ten-page letters daily to her girl friend who lives in same town and whom she sees frequently. Overlenient with children, her pupils get out of hand.

Case D. Girl, 28 Jewish. Overmotivation and ego drives. Good scholar, but education-mad and cocksure. Overambitious, motivation exceeds ability. Motivation isolates her from normal heterosexual relations, moody. Capricious and inconsistent in her discipline.

Case E. Girl, 22 Italian. Flapper promiscuity, discontented, emotional instability. Parents divorced, lives with sister, very unpleasant home life. Apparently compensates in sex, a "searcher." "I'd give anything in the world if I could get out of Chicago." Thinks she could never settle down to one man; sometimes has two engagements the same evening, excusing herself from one to meet the other. Was on point of accepting an obviously dangerous offer from man who would drive her West in an expensive car, present her with the car, and pay her a disproportionate salary as bookkeeper on a ranch (no knowledge of

bookkeeping required). Only the vigorous interposition of a friendly adviser prevented. The man was later arrested for vice activity on another complaint. "One of those jazz creatures."

Case F. Typical old maid Apparently well adjusted personally and socially within the implied limits. Easy to get along with, energetic, "when she walks her skirts go swish-swish like a little bantam rooster." Not a dominant personality or an independent thinker, is frequently "razzed" by her colleagues without being aware of it—"You could make her think black was white." Hard worker, but doesn't accomplish much. No men friends, apparently completely lacks "it."

Case G. Grass widow, 30. Family slave and Messalina, possibly nymphomaniac. Alienated from mother on whom she was fixated, now a high ambivalence. Fixations also on sister and one brother. Religious, strong extravert, capable, self-reliant. Was virgin until marriage, but had clandestine affair during marriage. Divorce evidently precipitated by disproportionate sex demands, aggressive rôle played by her, and cultural tensions arising out of sectional and religious mores; impotence induced in husband last year of marriage. (He was potent in extramarital relations.) Has rationalized, possibly assimilated, favorably to her own egotistic feelings, the entire marital and divorce experience. Promiscuity curbed only by status drives. For over a year, mistress to two men, both of whom see her frequently and neither of whom knows of the other. Has had intimate liaisons with two men at once. Oral perversion. Was only prevented by good counsel from rash second marriage, conceived almost entirely in terms of family status compensations. Plays with the idea of homosexual experience. In spite of all this was, at time of the investigation, the most resourceful and superficially the best personality picture and the most capable teacher. Handles her children with insight and ob-

jective analysis Still the most capable teacher, but has lost some of her power to assimilate her experiences. Asks, "How long can it last?"

Case H Girl, 25 Apparently well adjusted Conformed, religious, capable, thorough, systematic. Only a suggestion of family dependence, of overseriousness, and of "prudishness." Few heterosexual friendships, but apparently on a high level. Feminine Handles children well.

Case I Girl, 26. Apathy Fairly good ability, but no motivation Says case G of her, "She is not dumb, but just not interested—not even in the men! But I never heard her make an unkind remark or lose her temper—maybe because she hasn't gumption enough." Within these limitations, the pose and tranquillity of possible apathy, she is apparently well adjusted

Case J Girl, 28. Inferiority complex, big-girl complex Very tall and big framed Compensates poorly by overambitiousness to point of miserliness and well by ingratiating habits. Sensitive, cries easily. Good student, well liked Few men friends, "not a luscious object" Was once "boy friend" to Case C and now suffers all the embarrassment of a rejected suitor when in social situations with her. Case C handles her with the high-handedness of a scornful woman, and J, masculine to C's mild femininity, but feminine to G's stronger personality, pours out her troubles to G, who consoles her—and is tempted.

The interactions of such teachers² with the diversity of types among the students is prime sociological and psychological material at our doors for use but as yet untouched The complexes which dominate the teacher—religion, sex, status drives, industrial order, race, etc—cannot but be dragged in by the heels and sooner or later affect the student whether by contagion or negativistically Our only protection at present, a quite fortuitous one, is the number

²Similar studies are certainly called for on unselected groups of university teacher, social workers, scoutmasters, religious workers, ministers, and such official guides of others

of teachers through whose hands a student passes in the entire process, so that one may perchance offset the good or evil another has done, and the upshot, if the gods be with us, be something approaching a norm of influence. But with the unconscious selection occasioned by the embracing of teaching by particular types even this becomes doubtful

The personality of the teacher is reflected in his method of teaching. We have the dogmatic-didactic method of the person compensating for inferiority feeling. It introduces a further sociological factor into the learning process, for, often enough, his dogmatism, even at the university level, goes unquestioned by his students, not yet cut loose from earlier dependence upon and awe before the familial and clerical voices of authority and habituated by the years of unquestioning rote learning in primary and secondary schools. Then we have the kindly didactic guidance of the fatherly professor, the motherly grade teacher, who is apt to be on the best of terms with his pupils, too lenient with them, and sometimes venerated by them. His weakness is failing in the adequate presentation of objective content. But his strength is in mores impressment, in inducing the learning of items which require attitude changes. His strength could be in mores *realignment* did his own make-up not so readily lend itself to unquestioning conformity, were the existing mores not so thoroughly subjectivated in his own case. For *while we will learn our multiplication table at any one's hands, we will not accept values and attitudes (which have to do with what has become part of ourselves and change in which requires realignment of motives) from just any one*. Learning of such content is *predominantly sociological*.

One aim of education, it is true, may be defined as mores impressment, the socialization of the individual. But another may be defined as research, the replacement of the old and false by the new and true, and, in the personal

and the social, this usually amounts to mores replacement. Thus the second aim is a sort of continuous negating and rectifying of the first. But both involve attitudes, values, emotions, meanings; both are important integral aims of education as a functioning social institution, and, to be effective, both mores impressment and the realignment of mores—orientations regarding religion, sex, status, race, family, or political and social order—are *not a matter of content so much as a matter of teacher, and of method*. While persuasion as opposed to argumentation is the more effective *technique* in changing attitudes, it remains true that the *teacher* must also fill the bill as an acceptable prestige agent to function other than negativistically in these fields. This involves an emotional rapport (often technically, a transference), as all psychoanalysis tends to show. Learning, here, is distinctly socio-psychological.

The list of pupil-to-teacher responses could probably become all but indefinite. They are seen to fall mainly into categories of affectional rapport on the one hand and self-feelings (status) on the other; if a third were differentiated, it would be in terms of dependence and independence.

There is a sociology of classroom situations. Here is either an in-group with an outsider arbitrarily placed in control of them or a single in-group for whom the teacher is the natural leader. He is apt to be an outsider and enemy, due to the displaced father rebellion, to his own repressive rôle as disciplinarian, as watchdog on the lookout for mistakes, cheating, or delinquency, and as top sergeant relentlessly holding the student to the task of learning meaningless abstractions by rote. In that case, in the elementary- and high-school levels, an enemy morality, at least among a subgroup, grows up towards the teachers. It is a feather in one's cap to hoodwink him or one is a hero to oppose him. The attitude is expressed crudely on the deportment level rather than on intellectual levels. One plays hero to, and gains status in the eyes of, the group

(or subgroups of it) by being a bad boy for the teacher and status with the other boys is of primary importance. Stimuli *intended* to entrench responses in geography and arithmetic verbalization have really entrenched response tendencies in quite other fields of behavior. Thus do the content, method, and personnel of our educational system get a distant reflection in crime, juvenile delinquency, and personality maladjustment.

But even at the university level, sooner or later, the teacher is either accepted or rejected by persons, by subgroups, or by the group as a whole. Here, oftener though not always, the rebellion is in intellectual dissension rather than bad deportment. Not until the students themselves have outgrown their infantilism somewhat—in the graduate seminars—is the man's contribution divorced from his person and received on its own merits.

Thus, it usually becomes necessary for a teacher, even a venerated grand old man of the faculty, sooner or later to "define the situation" as to who is in control, intellectually or even in actual discipline, the teacher or the class. There are many ways of doing this. It may be done by making conformity the way of prudence, through bestowing zeros and cuts. It may be done by singling out the worst member and making the teacher and the rest of the class one in their opposite identification to the scapegoat, who is, perhaps, sent from the lecture or whose wisecrack is reversed to his own chagrin. This is a matter for artistry and good nature, however, since too ruthless a treatment will enlist the group sympathies the wrong way. Again, it may be done, if the professor is big enough not to take himself too seriously, by joining with the class when the joke is on him or by deliberately playing up his own idiosyncrasies for the combined (a completed in-group) delectation. This too requires artistry, for, having got a communality in the orientation towards his ridiculous aspects, he must not lose it in shifting over to his more dignified participations. There was a secondary teacher who, by

continuing to sit without a quiver on the tack which had been placed in his chair and subjecting the perpetrator, whom he had detected by give-away behavior to a thorough and good natured grilling on the day's assignment, won an unquestioned leadership of an erstwhile incorrigible grouping and smoothed out wonderfully the "learning process" for that particular roomful

In several aspects of pedagogy, qualities of leadership, well-integrated personality, and social sense are more important than knowledge, beyond certain limits, of content; and we have noticed striking instances where men having the former conducted better classes, not forgetting what the student got out of them, than those who, lacking some of these things, were much better grounded in the field, even prominent because of research, publication, or official connection, which should give us reason to reappraise our present emphasis on research in selecting that part of our university personnel whose chief objective task is teaching.

There is (perhaps, rather, there should be) a swift moving shifting of social rôles, of social selves, by both teacher and class. Now he is off his dignity and at one with a group totality in the enjoyment of an amusing sidelight or in profession of ignorance before a complex problem ramifying into many fields, now with a finality in which acceptance is implicit he dogmatizes one of the few items in our store of knowledge worthy of such finality, now, his sarcasm bites and stings to opposition and independence, now, gently and kindly, he links aims with his students and considers together the rightness or wrongness of this *mos majorum*, the appropriateness of that institution, now they are working together with no superposition or subordination in the solution of a new problem, and so on and on. A score of changes of rôle in the one class session, successively and concurrently carried on and maintained, depending upon the shift in the content, the nature of the group, and the necessity, by phrase or glance or gesture, of tempering the individual stimulus. Needless to say, the

perfectly conducted class has not yet come within the writer's ken.

The factors considered in this paper are elusive, some of them scarcely verbalizable, but the teacher-pupil relationships contain a wealth of sociological and psychological material available to ready observation, susceptible even to some degree of controlled experimentation and calling for understanding and adjustment while we do little or nothing with them.

Neither can we do much with it, especially towards adjusting them, until our teachers have a thorough knowledge of sociology, psychology, and the functional aspects of cultural anthropology, a knowledge of what may appropriately be called "socio-psychology," and until more attention is paid to the personality integration of teachers and administrators themselves. There are all sorts of "give-aways" of the major complexes and the more serious distortions of the personality in written papers, classroom recitation and deportment, and playground behavior. If we had a teaching staff trained to detect them, distortion of the personality could be apprehended and checked in its incipency instead of being further distorted at the hands of teacher or class. The school, coupled with the juvenile courts and bureaus of children's guidance, could eventually carry us far towards that Utopia in which there are neither defectives, deranged, nor delinquents. Such a goal may be centuries hence and doubtless depends upon all the multiplicity of biological, economic, and social measures projected for its attainment. But an important first step is a more vital integration of the contributions of psychology, psychoanalysis, anthropology, and sociology; and a second step is the so much called-for use by pedagogy of the product of that synthesis.

However, these applications may or may not be worked out, it remains that learning, at least in humans, is not a psychological process simply, but is complicated by many sociological factors.

THE PLEASING PERSONALITY OF HIGH-SCHOOL GIRLS AS RELATED TO OTHER TRAITS AND MEASURES

EDWIN G. FLEMMING

Personality is frequently considered as that group or system of ideas, activities, and form which are peculiar to the particular person. Considering personality in this manner only it may be divided into physique, chemique—which is allied with temperament and emotion—the emotions themselves, instinct and intelligence—including memory.

But personality is surely something more than just that, since those subdivisions are quite as applicable to the "psyche." Personality has a social aspect not included in such a concept. From the social point of view factors contributing to personality would seem to be the emotional and social adjustments of the individual, his character, his reputation, and his economic status.

Each of the factors, however—whether individual or social—is a contributing factor to personality in so far as others react to it. Personality is in reality an effect. But it is more than the simple reaction of others to the individual; it is more dynamic. The individual, himself, is a living, dynamic organism. He is an integrating and disintegrating group or system of ideas, emotions, activities, form, and possessions; while society is a still more complex and larger integrating and disintegrating system or group of ideas, emotions, activities, and institutions. Likewise, any social situation is not static; there is at least change and movement in time. During the progress of time there is not only the reaction of society to the individual, there is also the individual's reaction to the social group, and again, in turn, the reaction of society to his reaction; etc.

The sum total of the effect made upon society by this dynamic, living, changing interplay of the responses of the individual and of society in many social situations is the personality. An integral part of this concept of per-

sonality is the feeling tone that the individual engenders in others. Whether a personality is strong or weak, striking or diab, integrated or unstable, alert or passive, the effect that is made upon others in terms of pleasant or unpleasant feelings must be taken into consideration

The purpose of this study is to get a glimpse of the pleasing personality of high-school girls in accordance with this concept and to investigate its relation to a number of other traits and measures

Many studies have been made of personality from many different angles,¹ but there appears to be none that has heretofore attacked the problem on the basis of the pleasingness of the individual to others, except previous studies by the author.

The subjects used were the last two classes of girls of the senior high school in the Horace Mann School, Teachers College. There were eighty-eight girls altogether, but due to incomplete data in some cases the correlations are based upon sixty-two cases.

The measures of pleasing personality were the ratings of the subjects by fellow students. The sixth-year girls rated each other and the fifth-year girls rated each other. In no case were there fewer than twenty-five judgments and in some cases as many as thirty-eight. The instructions were as follows:

Rate the following individuals on the basis of how they affect you. Do not consider their general reputations. Try to answer the question, "Is my response to this individual pleasant or unpleasant?" If your response is very pleasant, draw a circle around the figure ten (10), if your response is unpleasant in the extreme, put a circle around the one (1). In order to gauge the pleasantness of your response, select from *all the persons you know* the individual you *like the best* as the standard for circling the ten (10). In gauging the unpleasantness of your response select from *all the persons you know* the individual you *dislike the most* as the standard for

¹Daniel Harris, "The Relation to College Grades of Some Factors Other than Intelligence," *Archives of Psychology*, No. 131, 1931.

P. M. Symonds, *Diagnosing Personality and Conduct* (New York: The Century Company, 1931), xvi+602 pages.

encircling the one (1) Rate the girls listed with regard to these two extremes

Do *not* rate any individual whom you feel you do not know well enough to rate

The measures and traits with which pleasing personality, thus measured, were compared are the following:

- Degree of intellectual enthusiasm
- Capacity for independent thought
- Capacity for independent work
- Industry—application to school work
- Persistence
- Social adaptability—ability to get on with others in group activity
- Executive ability
- Dependability
- Self-control
- Good manners
- Height
- Weight
- Morphological index as indicated by the height divided by the weight.
- Chronological age
- Mental age
- Intelligence quotient
- Resistance of the skin to the passage of one and a half volts of electrical current from an ordinary number-six dry cell

The first ten traits were measured by means of rating scales. The ratings were secured on the basis of a linguistic scale rather than a numerical scale. For example, in rating "persistence" the steps were indicated as marked, moderate, intermittent, slight, or lacking. Suitable terminology was used for the other traits. In some cases there were four steps, in others, five or six. In transposing the linguistic ratings into numerical scores for the purpose of correlation, the best characterization was given a value of five and each step down the scale a value of one less.

The judges were all of the teachers that the pupils had over a period of three years. The ratings were secured from the teachers at the end of each year. In no case were there fewer than seven ratings on any trait, while in some cases there were as many as twenty-two judgments.

The average rating for the three years was taken as the measure on the trait.

The mental ages and the intelligence quotients were secured through the use of the Terman Group Test and were taken as of the year 1928-1929 rather than the current year since the present ages of the subjects would tend to make the quotient less reliable. The median I.Q. for the group studied is 123, the range from 102 to 148, so that the group is definitely superior in intelligence.

The height and weight were taken from the school physician's records as of the fall of 1929, which probably would be responsible for some error in the correlations in which height and weight are used. However, the morphological index is not likely to have changed to any appreciable extent in two years even at the ages of these girls. Further, the correlations with height and weight and the height-weight ratio are so small as not to warrant the expenditure of much more time over them in this inquiry.

Resistance of the skin to the passage of an electric current from an ordinary doorbell dry battery was used because in a former exploratory study² with eighteen subjects a correlation of .44 was found with magnetic personality and of .40 with nervous temperament. It seemed desirable to check these results with a larger number of subjects.

A number of investigators have indicated that the resistance of the skin is quite unreliable,³ since it changes from subject to subject, from time to time during the day with the same subject, and also from day to day. The figures given by these investigators indicate that there is unquestionably change in resistance from time to time.

The resistance in this inquiry was measured in the morning from nine o'clock to noon. The first and second fingers of the right hand were immersed up to the first joint into two separate glasses containing saturated solu-

²Edwin G. Flemming, "Personality as Revealed by the Galvanometer," *American Journal of Psychology*, January 1927, pp. 128-129.

³Robin D. Collmar, *The Psycho-galvanic Reactions of Exceptional and Normal School Children*, Teachers College Contributions to Education, 1931, No. 469.

David Wechsler, "The Measurement of Emotional Reactions," *Archives of Psychology*, 1925, No. 76.

tions of salt. The balance of the fingers was protected by close-fitting rubber caps. To check on the reliability the resistance was measured a second time on a later day at approximately the same time as on the first day. The coefficient of reliability was found to be .70. There is change in resistance from day to day even at the same hour, but the change is relatively slight in most cases when compared with the total range of resistances shown by the entire group. With resistances ranging from nineteen thousand to seventy-five thousand ohms, a change of three or four thousand ohms is of relatively little significance. The reliability of the measure is then sufficient for its use in an exploratory, scientific study.

RESULTS

Table I gives the correlations between the ratings on pleasingness of personality and the other traits and measures. The second column shows the partial correlations when age is held constant.

TABLE I

Showing the correlations between pleasing personality and the traits and measures indicated

	<i>Simple correlation</i>	<i>Partial with age constant</i>
Intellectual enthusiasm	.28	40
Independent thought	.30	44
Independent work	.40	56
Industry	.37	48
Persistence	.41	50
Social adaptability	.44	53
Executive ability	.39	47
Dependability	.41	50
Self-control	.41	46
Good manners	.46	49
Height	— .09	
Weight	.03	
Height-weight ratio	— .06	
Height/weight ratio	— .06	
Chronological age	.25	
Mental age	.42	
Intelligence quotient	.10	
Resistance	.14	

The reason that the partial correlations with the first ten traits are higher than the simple correlations is that in each case age is negatively related to these characteristics, but positively related to pleasing personality.

The fact that there are so many correlations above thirty indicates that the technique of multiple correlations might show some significantly high relationships. The intercorrelations, however, among the first ten traits are so high as to yield very few important changes in the multiple correlation. One is likely to suspect a halo effect among the teachers' ratings; and the fact that each of the teachers' ratings correlates with pleasing personality as rated by the girls themselves indicates that it is not unlikely that the halo is influenced by pleasing personality.

After trying a number of multiple correlations that seemed to show some promise, the most satisfactory multiple was secured by combining good manners and social adaptability, yielding a multiple correlation of .51. Combining mental age and chronological age we get a correlation with pleasingness of .49.

The best correlation secured was with a combination of good manners, social adaptability, chronological age, and mental age. The multiple correlation technique, however, was not used until the end of the combination. The procedure was as follows: The average rating on good manners was added to the average rating on social adaptability. This composite score yielded a correlation of .52 with pleasing personality. Then the chronological age was added to the mental age. This combined age correlated with pleasing personality to the extent of .49. Then, combining these two composite scores in a multiple correlation with pleasing personality, the coefficient became .69.

Height, weight, the morphological index, the intelligence quotient, and resistance to the passage of an electrical current have apparently no relation to pleasing personality.

Comparisons of these results with the results of other studies is impossible because there appears to have been

no work done by other investigators in the field of personality from this particular angle.⁴ The previous work of the author⁵ cannot be directly compared since the subjects in that previous work were college students. Indirect implications, however, tend to corroborate the previous findings. For instance, among college women the correlation between pleasing personality and social adjustment, which is not the same thing as social adaptability used in this study but similar to it, was found to be .67. With both groups the relationship is definitely positive. With the college women the correlation with emotional unsteadiness, which may be considered somewhat similar to self-control, was -.52, meaning that emotionally steady college women have the more pleasing personalities. This is comparable to the partial correlation of .46 with self-control when age is held constant in the present investigation.

Among college women the correlation between age and pleasing personality was .12, while with this group of high-school girls it is .25. The difference is not large and may be of no significance. But with the correlation of .12 the interpretation would be that age is of no significance, while with a correlation of .25 the interpretation might be that there is a slight tendency for the two measures to be related. The importance of the difference, however, begins to show itself when we consider that the high-school girls are much younger than the college girls. It is quite possible that with a sample comprising a more extensive age range a correlation showing a definite tendency for pleasing personality to be associated positively with age may be revealed. Such a definite tendency accompanying age would be of some significance from the practical, pedagogical point of view and would also indicate something about the development of personality. However, a positive tendency for age to correlate with pleasing personality among the younger children may merely indicate a tendency for the

⁴Harris and Symonds, *op. cit.*

⁵Edwin G. Flemming, "Pleasing Personality," *Journal of Social Psychology*, III, 1, pp. 100-107.

younger members of a group to idealize and worship those older persons who seem to be in the limelight and to have more liberties and privileges than they themselves enjoy.

The correlations between intelligence and pleasing personality among the college women and the same relations among the subjects of this study cannot be compared because the intelligence data are not in terms of the same measure and because the measurement of the intelligence of college people is much less reliable and less valid. But the fact that with the high-school girls the correlation between mental age and pleasing personality is .42 tends to uphold the view of those psychologists who in analyzing personality have maintained that intelligence is a factor.

With both the college women and the high-school girls used in this study one must remember that the groups are very definitely highly selected groups so far as intelligence is concerned. It is possible that in a group with unrestricted range in intelligence the correlation with pleasing personality may be even higher than here found. On the other hand, it may be that in such an unrestricted group the individuals of lesser intelligence would not be highly pleased with those very much superior to themselves. Although there may be a tendency among human beings to be pleased with that which is the highest and the best, there is also a counter tendency to like that which is not very much different, that which is similar and consequently with which one can feel en rapport.

The lack of relationship shown in this investigation between height, weight, and the height-weight ratio and pleasing personality tends to discredit the view that physique is a factor in personality. However, it may be that physique becomes a factor not because of mere size but by reason of the aesthetic appeal of a smiling countenance or a graceful figure. Dress, neatness of appearance, and beauty of face and form may be the physical elements of importance to a pleasing personality rather than mere size.

The absence of any significant relationship between re-

sistance of the skin to the passage of an electrical current and pleasing personality indicates that in all probability the significant correlation found in our previous study⁶ with eighteen cases was a matter of mere chance. The larger number of cases in this study should give the present results greater weight than those of the former investigation.

But the reliability coefficient of .70 for the measure of resistance indicates that resistance of the skin to the passage of an electrical current is a usable measure where relationship is suspected with other criteria. Undoubtedly, skin resistance is unstable, but with proper safeguards it need not necessarily be unreliable.

CONCLUSIONS

Personality has been defined in this study as the sum total of the effect made by the individual upon society.

In accordance with this concept the pleasing personalities of sixty-two high-school girls were measured and correlated with a number of other traits and measures. Pleasing personality was found to be positively related to intellectual enthusiasm, the capacity for independent thought and for independent work, to industry, to persistence, to social adaptability, to executive ability, dependability, self-control, and to good manners. When age is held constant by partial correlations each one of these correlations is increased.

Height and weight and the ratio between height and weight show no relation to pleasing personality as defined in this study. There is no relation between pleasing personality and the I Q., nor between pleasing personality and the resistance of the skin to the passage of a volt and a half of electrical current.

The correlation between pleasing personality and chronological age was found to be .25 and between pleasing personality and mental age .42. When these two were combined into a composite score by simple addition the correlation with pleasingness became .49. A significant correlation of .69 was found between pleasing personality and a combination of social adaptability, good manners, chronological age, and mental age.

⁶Flemming, *op cit.*

THE APPLICATION OF SOCIAL CHANGES TO THE SCHOOL¹

PHILIP A. COWEN

Since about 1870, when our school grades were first well established, they have been criticized on one score or another continuously. In recent years this criticism has centered around the welfare of the individual pupil. Schools are condemned because they train pupils in failure, they develop retardation, they neglect the interests and abilities of pupils, and they do a number of other things of a similar character which are said to be harmful. If these charges are well founded, the root of the trouble undoubtedly lies in the policies of school organization and attendance laws which we believe to be thoroughly modern.

Since the school is a part of our social structure, a so-called social institution training pupils for a place in society, it should be profitable to analyze certain social phenomena which are changing the character of our society and to show how these may be applied to school organization.

Studies by various sociologists reveal three quite fundamental social trends. Briefly, these are as follows: (1) a change in the similarities and differences of business and working-class people; (2) a reduction in the influence of primary groups on the individual and an increase in the influence of secondary and derivative groups; (3) a growing complexity of associations and human interrelations.

BUSINESS AND WORKING PEOPLE

There is a multitude of evidence to show that business and working-class people are diverging in habits, customs, ways of living, and social attitudes. Twenty-five or thirty years ago these two groups of people had a great many things in common. They worked together, played together,

¹This article summarizes an unpublished study, "Sociological Bases for School Organization." Supporting evidence and data have necessarily been omitted. Hence, these statements appear to be dogmatic. The author will gladly furnish references and sources of data upon request.

took similar interest and concern in government, lived in similar quarters, and enjoyed the same privileges in society. Today there are great differences between business and working men in all of these respects. They seldom come in contact with each other at their work, their leisure activities are entirely different. Business men have their exclusive clubs, social activities never overlap, residential areas are restricted for the well-to-do, and working men have lost their status as skilled operators of machines because present trades do not demand an apprenticeship period.

These differences which have appeared in twenty-five or thirty years are evidence of a definite trend. Whether or not the trend will continue in the same direction one can hardly say. In all probability we shall not go back to the conditions of twenty-five years ago. Nevertheless, these changes have developed class distinctions which are apparently contrary to democracy. In that respect they are extremely important in their bearing upon school affairs. Should schools in a social democracy attempt to promote class distinctions or attempt to bring all to the same level?

If our society were based on the caste system schools should promote class distinctions. But in a social democracy children need to learn about and to appreciate the problems and opinions of all classes. School groups, therefore, should be formed so as to break down class feeling. The greater the variety of experiences among pupils in a properly constituted grade, the better will be their understanding of each other.

Our present grades, however, are inadequate because of the age range found there. Frequently as much as six to eight years' difference exists between the youngest and oldest pupils. Such a group contains pupils who because of their diverse ages do not have similar interests and therefore do not constitute a natural social group. We need to improve the sociability of school grades by reducing their age range. Then we may expect the maximum

interchange of ideas between pupils with a better understanding of diverse attitudes and points of view as a result.

PRIMARY AND SECONDARY GROUP INFLUENCE

The second social trend is a shift of influence from primary to secondary groups. The first change of this nature probably occurred when the family chose to educate its children in schools and thereby gave up some of its control over them. Within recent years a number of shifts have come which further remove the individual child from the scope of primary influence. For instance, the decrease in the size of the family, although purely a numerical factor, certainly has had a decided influence upon children. Families formerly consisted of a group almost large enough to constitute a school in itself. This is rare nowadays.

The employment of married women outside of the home is becoming quite common and further removes from the family one of the essential members of the primary group. Living quarters have been correspondingly reduced in size, commercial amusements have increased on a large scale to replace home activities which were formerly very prevalent, transportation and communication facilities of a vastly greater scope and speed give individuals many more secondary contacts than they formerly had. Tendency towards coöperative enterprise brings individuals into contact with groups and organizations instead of individuals. The increased number of commissions, boards, conferences, etc., tends to do nearly everything by the committee method.

Such a change as this one, reducing primary and increasing secondary contacts, associations, and influences, tends at the same time to curtail the realization of certain values which were formerly secured from intimate face-to-face interactions. The loss in some of these primary attitudes and ideals, such as love, respect, loyalty, ambition, honesty, and fair play, is serious because they constitute the backbone of what we call personality and character.

Furthermore, in order to build desirable secondary attitudes and ideals, such as the scientific attitude, open-

mindedness, and internationalism, it is first necessary to have built the foundation, the primary attitudes and ideals, or the personality and character.

This second trend of society places a distinctly additional burden upon our schools. It is logical to say that schools, since they were created to perform one of the primary tasks of the family, should now attempt to exert other primary influences which the family has chosen to abandon. Some of the devices which schools now employ to perform this additional function are an organized personnel service, including vocational and educational guidance, schemes for parental education, nursery and kindergarten schools. Such movements attempt to compensate for the things which families once did for their children.

There is another totally different way in which this social trend points to the need for changed school organization. As our society becomes less and less influenced by primary groups, it is apparent that individuals will have more need of the ability which is required to succeed in a society of derivative groups. Such secondary or derivative groups demand long-distance contacts and an understanding of purposes and functions from remote points of view. One must have the ability to think abstractly, to use symbols to express ideas rather than mere personal concrete relationships. Thus, this ability may be the key to success or failure in our growing society of secondary groups. Here is an opportunity for educators to organize their schools in such a way that pupils may be grouped into grades according to age (as a rough index of social maturity) and, into sections according to ability in abstract thinking. Subject matter and methods of teaching may be adapted to the needs of ability groups while certain nonacademic activities may be carried on with a grade as a whole.

COMPLEXITY OF SOCIETY

The third trend is towards a more complex social structure. An attempt to classify organizations of one kind or

another—political, social, economic, philanthropic, or intellectual—indicates that organizations have grown in number out of all proportion to any other part of our social structure. It is easily possible for almost any individual of ordinary means to pay his whole salary in memberships, dues, subscriptions, contributions, and donations to various organizations. There is no telling when the tendency to organize will come to a halt.

One important point to be observed from this trend is that each individual has a different set of social reactions and interreactions from any other individual. Probably the effect of these on personality and character is highly important but also very intangible. Nevertheless, it is becoming increasingly more important to recognize the variability of social forces and influences. They constitute another set of individual differences.

Danger lies in the fact that most people in a complex group life become followers whereas few become leaders. One of the greatest needs in a society of this kind is intelligent leadership. The school can do several things to improve the quality of the leaders who will be at the head of our organizations within a few years. As yet no curriculum has been created to train pupils in leadership. Only by practice can leadership be developed. Consequently the values to be derived from student government and other nonacademic activities are of immediate practical value. Schools should encourage such organizations in every way. They should further try to distribute among pupils the opportunities to develop leadership so that the present trend of concentration on a few leaders for all organizations may not begin to operate before pupils leave school.

Thus, if educators consider the meaning of important social trends, they will need to change the traditional grade organization into limited age groups for social development. Our new society needs some of the educational services sometimes considered superfluous. These include personnel service, nursery, kindergarten, and parental education programs, and a variety of nonacademic student organizations.

A NEGLECTED FACTOR IN EDUCATION FOR CITIZENSHIP

JOSEPH R. GEIGER

If there is anything in the paradox propounded by Rousseau to the effect that a state owes it to its citizens to force them to be free, then one of the crying needs of the hour in democratic America is the discovery of some means of increasing the prestige of the expert. For it is obvious that the sort of authority typified by the expert, so far from being incompatible with the freedom of the individual, is, as a matter of fact, a prerequisite to an effective realization of personal freedom. In order that the freedom of the individual may be effective, it is necessary that his activities shall be differentiated along lines which are relevant to his several capacities, if his rights are to be real rather than merely formal, he must develop as many types of performances as he has species of rights. The complexity of modern life is such, however, as to make direct personal performance impossible in an increasing number of its areas. Specialization of effort, therefore, and exchange of the products of efforts thus specialized must more and more come to be accepted by the individual as natural and inevitable in those fields of endeavor in which his own efforts are manifestly inadequate.

This, of course, is the true meaning and justification of representative government. The substitution of representative government for pure democracy is obviously not just an expediency growing out of the fact that within a populous state it is practically impossible for all the people to come together for law-making purposes. It must be obvious that there is no other means by which desirable ends can be realized in modern democratic states. For the realization of these ends through legislative and administrative procedures involves an insight into condi-

tions and a knowledge of ways and means which the ordinary voter does not possess and may not be able to acquire.

And it may be worth our while to recall, in this connection, that the performance of political functions was at the beginning of civic life usually in the hands of those most capable of performing these functions. The chieftain of the clan or tribe was such by reason of his ability to do things which his followers were unable to do. The king first won his authority by reason of his skill and courage as a warrior, his influence as a leader, and his wisdom as a ruler. And the political revolutions which curtailed or destroyed the power of kings and resulted in the establishment of popular governments were not, in theory, at least, so much a repudiation of government by experts as a protest against the supposition that expert abilities are necessarily inherited. The logic of universal suffrage would thus seem to be that of a collective employment of experts as a substitute for a reliance on the principle of the inherited right and capacity to perform the expert's functions.

It is not contended, of course, that this conception of representative government is consciously grasped or adequately lived up to in this or in any other democratic state. Representative government is by no means a guarantee that laws will be enacted and administered by experts. Nevertheless, it *would* operate to secure these ends were it not for certain limiting conditions which are not essential to the nature of a democratic society. One of these conditions is a prevalent misconception of the nature of this form of government growing out of a failure to appreciate the complexity of life and the necessity of a specialization of effort and of an exchange of the fruits of specialized effort. Another is the tradition harking back to the romanticism of the nineteenth century that all men are created free and equal. But the most serious obstacle to government by experts in democratic states is the lack of education in general and for citizenship in particular.

The crucial nature of this last named difficulty will be more clearly appreciated, when it is born in mind that the

functioning of the expert within a democratic state is conditioned by the consent and cooperation of the governed. This is a circumstance which need not necessarily be reckoned with in purely Utopian schemes. To be sure, the author of the *Republic* anticipates its possibility and makes provision to deal with it after a fashion. He would encourage popular religion and rely on its sanctions to fortify the rulers in the exercise of their prerogatives and powers. And there is reason to believe that the most enlightened modern dictator shares this confidence of Plato in the potency of religious sanctions for political purposes. In general, however, neither the classical Utopia nor the modern benevolent dictatorship encounters this problem in the subtle form in which it presents itself under a representative scheme of government.

For here the expert enjoys his prestige and performs his functions subject, in the last analysis, to the understanding and the appreciation of those, the logic of whose minds inclines them to very different attitudes. It is doubtless true that this indirect control of the expert by the voters of a community operates as a check on his authority and thus serves to prevent a tyrannical use of power, and at the same time to ensure an atmosphere of realism without which specialized knowledge and skill could easily degenerate into prejudice and fanaticism. But it is precisely this responsibility of the voter for the kind of authority the expert embodies and employs that renders the education of the former so uniquely important. And it is the lack of such education of the right sort in America that presents the most formidable barrier to our being well governed.

To be sure, we pride ourselves in America on our public schools and on our compulsory education laws—and thus fortify our faith in democracy. We can also point with pride (and with a measure of hope) to an increasing emphasis, in our educational systems, on what is called "training for citizenship." But the training thus afforded prospective citizens would seem to be largely inspired by

the romantic tradition referred to above—the equality of all men by reason of their native endowment—and thus to be predicated on the assumption that the average voter some day will (and ought to) be a ruler, or at least will be called upon to vote on intricate and technical questions which only the expert should presume to decide.

That education for civic duties should be so conceived and administered is largely due, we take it, to two circumstances growing out of the political realities with which we are faced. One of these is that we are not as yet consciously committed to the true or proper conception of representative government, and the other is the fact that we must somehow make provision in our educational schemes for the stimulation and development of political leadership among those who attend our schools. This latter necessity must, of course, be provided for. Needless to say, it is only partially met by the citizenship courses now being offered in high schools and colleges. In the meantime, there is another sort of training for citizenship which the rank and file of prospective voters sorely need but are not likely to realize from curricular procedures now available to them; namely, an intelligent appreciation of the ideal of government by the best, and an intelligent, persuasive respect for the authority of those best qualified to govern. It is with the latter phase of such an educational desideratum that this paper is primarily concerned.

Fortunately, the sort of training for citizenship thus contemplated will not require the inculcation of ideas and the building up of attitudes which are entirely foreign to the popular mind as it is now constituted. On the contrary, a great deal may be taken for granted in the way of respect for specialized knowledge and skill. No one now presumes to be his own doctor or lawyer; or undertakes to teach his own children, to make his own clothes, or to repair his own car. In numerous ways, and with reference to an almost endless variety of needs, all of us are already committed to a recognition of the authority of the expert. What,

then, is required if this indispensable condition of the freedom of the individual is so to operate as to produce its maximum fruits in our American life? Or, more specifically, what educational procedures may be employed to extend this prevalent reliance on specialized knowledge and skill in their more obviously urgent applications to their less palpable, but equally urgent uses in the realm of good government?

Now there is a larger aspect of this problem with which this paper will not presume to concern itself. We refer to the question as to what might be accomplished in this connection by producing an appropriate impact upon the popular mind through a judicious control of various agencies and institutions other than the school. The suggestions occurring to the writer have rather to do with the content of a possible orientation course, suitable, perhaps, for lower division students in colleges. These suggestions, needless to say, are not considered as being in any sense final or exhaustive as to the educational implications of our problem. On the contrary, they are offered as being only more or less indicative, to the writer, of the sort of curricular influences the rank and file of college youth most need to encounter if they are to qualify for good citizenship.

There is one type of influence which would seem to make for respect for expert knowledge and skill through producing the negative effect of building up an immunity to mass suggestion and to other forms of irrational stimulation within the social environment. Reference here is, in general, to the sort of things emphasized many years ago by Professor Ross in his *Social Psychology* in connection with the discussion of the "prophylactics against the mob mind." Since the appearance of *Social Psychology*, the need of Professor Ross's "prophylactics"—and as many others as are available—has been greatly intensified by the operation of new and more subtle means of irrational stimulation. What these are, and the nature of the technique through which they operate, need not detain us. Modern

advertising in its various forms, tabloid and other sensational newspapers, news reels, "educational" films, photo-plays, best seller novels, and the various and sundry assaults made on the mind through the radio—these are too notorious as to the logic of their appeal to require comment. But what is to be done about them? In a very large measure their effect is to destroy sanity of outlook and soundness of judgment. They set in motion trends of thought and feeling which run counter to the influences emanating from dependable sources of insight and opinion. How are these effects on the immature mind to be offset?

The only suggestion the writer has to make in this connection, other than to call attention once more to Professor Ross's famous prescriptions, is that we must "fight fire with fire." The import of this cryptic advice will become obvious once it is recognized that the "mob mind" is built up through the simple device of exploiting human nature, and that a comparative immunity to its manifestations may be built up by means of the same device. Anomalous and pathological phenomena in our social behavior are conditioned by the operation of certain laws of behavior, so that whoever understands these laws, and is sufficiently interested, can produce the phenomena in question. But human nature is a complex affair, and there are other laws than these which may be understood and manipulated. One of them is that a knowledge of how we tend to behave under certain conditions complicates the situation when these conditions are present, and so modifies their effect as stimuli.

The first emphasis in our orientation course, then, would be psychological; and our aim would be to create on the part of the student what, for want of a better term, we may call the "psychological point of view." By the "psychological point of view" we wish to be understood as meaning such a grasp of the facts and principles of psychology as will enable and dispose one to stand on the outside of one's own experience and on the inside of the experience of others. The importance of the ability and

disposition so to relate oneself to one's own experience and to the experience of others lies in the fact that one is thereby enabled, in a measure, to play the rôle of spectator, as well as that of participant in the affairs of life. To play such a rôle with respect to the issues of social intercourse is to realize for oneself something of what Arnold meant by "seeing life steadily and seeing it whole." Such an attitude, to be sure, is not all of what wisdom means, but certainly it comprises one of its beginnings—not only in the promise it gives of more wisdom for oneself, but also in the possibility it bespeaks of being more readily controlled by the wisdom of others.

Having, then, rendered the matriculant in our course more or less immune to irrational forms of control within his social environment, we should next be concerned to have him acquire a positive set for responding to that form of control which makes the maximum use of the best available resources. To this end we should endeavor to orient him to a proper conception of representative government. And here we should levy on the social sciences as well as on biology and psychology for relevant materials. We should look to political history for proper perspectives and, more especially, to comparative government for confirmation of the dictum that the earliest attempts at government were in the hands of those best fitted to govern. We should rely on sociology and on economics and economic history for illustrations of the complexity of life and of the inevitable trends towards division of labor, specialization of effort, and exchange of economic goods and services. Social psychology would be called in to testify to the necessity, under these conditions, of mutual confidence and respect. In this connection, too, analysis would have to be made of the concept of authority, and distinctions would need to be drawn between authority which is structural and absolute and that which is functional and relative. Considerations could be invoked from the point of view of ethics to show that a reliance of authority of the latter type, so far

from compromising the freedom of the individual, is, in reality, an indispensable condition of personal freedom. Jurisprudence could be depended on to say in what sense the dogma of equality is true, and biology could be trusted to show that there is a sense in which it isn't true. Finally, it would doubtless be to the point to demonstrate, on psychological grounds, the superior character of thinking when carried on under the conditions obtaining in well-organized and self-respecting deliberative bodies. And so the foundations would be laid for a conception of government in connection with which the status and function of the expert would be taken as a matter of course.

Now the abilities of the expert in matters of government would seem to be of two kinds; namely, those which he owes to personal characteristics, and those which depend on his specialized knowledge and skill. Our appreciations of the former, and our readiness to be controlled by them probably rest, in the last analysis, on attitudes acquired very early in life. At any rate, their effectiveness would not seem to involve any particular problem in a program of education for citizenship except, as we have seen, that of rendering the prospective voter more or less immune to being unduly influenced by them when functioning apart from rational insight and skill. Our susceptibility to control by the latter type of abilities, however, is doubtless conditioned in some measure, not only by our recognition of specialized knowledge and skill as being indispensable to representative government when properly conceived and administered, but also by our understanding of its nature and its grounds. Our next problem, therefore, would be that of familiarizing the student with the more obvious features of scientific method as the best example of the sort of conditions our thinking and knowing must meet if they are to provide a dependable basis for efficient action.

It is to be presumed, in this connection, that our student will have already had some contact with the laboratory

sciences, and so will have gained some insight into the meaning of science and into the nature of its method. What we should have in mind at this point, then, would be to ensure that the insight he has thus gained be rendered so self-conscious and discerning as to enable him to recognize in the genuine expert the embodiment of the technique of science and the incarnation of its authority.

Are suitable materials available for the carrying out of such a purpose? Without a doubt. In general, we should depend on the processes involved in actual scientific achievements, together with whatever light has been thrown on the nature of these processes by classical and contemporary logicians. Thus, it will be seen that our program at this point would be identical, in many respects, with an elementary course in logic. But the emphasis would be preeminently practical and constructive in the sense that it would concern itself in the simplest and most straightforward manner possible with scientific method as the indispensable form of valid and effective thinking. Excellent samples of the sort of approach we have in mind are certain texts now being used in elementary courses in logic, typified most worthily, perhaps, by the *Introduction to Reflective Thinking* by the Columbia Associates in Philosophy, and by the *Principles and Problems of Right Thinking* by Professor E. A. Burt.

The usefulness of the governmental expert will be conditioned, however, not only by whatever abilities he may possess, but also by the use to which he puts these abilities, and this, on the whole, will be determined by his sense of values. But how sound and dependable the expert's sense of values is may be quite independent of the competency he owes to his specialized knowledge and skill. To be sure, his scientific habits of mind may carry over into the field of values and may thus enable him to reach conclusions as to the relative worth of competing ends which are as objective and as authoritative as the conclusions he arrives at in his choice and execution of necessary techniques. It

is by no means certain, however, that this transfer will take place. Independent variables conditioned by patterns of temperament and training may operate to prevent it. Furthermore, the application of scientific habits of mind to the determination of values presupposes a standard of judgment which, although for the time being is itself not open to question, may nevertheless be challenged and must thereupon submit to evaluation in the light of some more ultimate point of view. Sooner or later, therefore, the moralizing of the expert is likely to reach a point where his own competency can no longer assert itself in the face of dissenting opinion as to what is most worth while. For both these reasons, then, the average voter is responsible for a certain independence of judgment in relation to moral issues in public life that is in striking contrast with what is required of him in relation to the more technical phases of the political economy.

To some this has seemed a *reductio ad absurdum* of popular government. It does mean, of course, that in the long run the kind of government that is possible in a democratic society depends on the sense of values of which the rank and file of the people are capable. It is this that constitutes the most compelling reason for popular education within a democratic state. And yet, whatever may be the nature of the relation between the intellectual and moral capacities of individuals, it would seem that we are confronted here with a certain paradox. On the one hand, the moral sentiments appear to be so intimately bound up with the improvement of the intellect that popular education is likely to accomplish more in the way of increasing the moral competency of a people in relation to good government than in that of qualifying them for efficient participation in the mechanics of government. On the other hand, however, can we avoid the conclusion that the kind of education that is possible among a people is itself a function of the moral competency of that people? To state the matter briefly, the articulation of educational objectives involves

a dialectic which sooner or later works itself back to divergent points of view concerning value norms which cannot be adjudicated by any further appeal to facts but must rather be settled by persuasion and compromise, and, in the last analysis, by majority rule. The deeper insight here would seem to be that one's faith in popular government cannot finally rest on what one may hope for from education. On the contrary, one seems to have no alternative to falling back upon a faith that the voice of the people, if not the voice of God, is, at least, the most dependable means we have of determining, in broad outline, the proper objectives of political action.

Now one may or may not share this faith, but at any rate, as a citizen of a democratic state, one is committed to it as the *de facto* sanction for governmental procedure. And it is this circumstance, together with the disproportionate fallibility of the technical expert in his judgment of values, as we have pointed out, that places upon the voter within a democratic state, a unique responsibility in relation to moral issues in public life. What, then, more specifically, is the nature of this responsibility, and how may our prospective voter qualify for discharging it?

Two or three suggestions must suffice to answer these questions and to bring our discussion to a close. In general, our final emphasis in the training of our citizen-to-be would be ethical. And first of all, we should endeavor to orient him to the notion of value as a standard of judgment. We should spare no pains to make it clear, however, that what is immediately required in this connection is not some abstract ideal of the *summum bonum* of life, but rather such concrete conceptions of value as are capable of furnishing illumination and control within actual situations where the appraisal of conflicting ends must be made. In the next place, we should seek to familiarize the student with the details of this process of applying the methods of reflective thought to the evaluation of practical ends. Attention would be called to the fact that competing ends

must be appraised in terms of the consequences they may be expected to yield, that these consequences are themselves to be judged as better or worse in the light of some standard whose value is taken for granted, and that, unless the standard thus presupposed be accepted by all concerned as unquestionable, more ultimate points of view must be invoked until some conception of value is reached concerning which disputants either agree, or recognize that agreement is impossible because of a difference of taste or moral sense that is so fundamental as to be irreconcilable.

But what effects would such an orientation to the technique of moral evaluation be likely to produce on the student? It seems to the writer that the effects likely to be produced would be at least three. In the first place, the student would doubtless be impressed by the enormous difficulty of applying this technique in just those situations with which the political expert is most apt to be confronted, and would therefore sense the importance of relying on the judgment of those who, because they are in public office, are presumably the best qualified and the most favorably situated for obtaining and utilizing the necessary data. In the second place, he would find, when he begins to exercise the functions of citizenship, that he need not be entirely at the mercy of those to whom he might thus entrust the task of passing judgment upon questions of value. For with his insight into the nature of the reflective process, he would have at hand the means of requiring an accounting of them and of checking the validity of their findings. Finally, he would sense the need, in this connection, of having worked out and embraced a very general point of view concerning values, to be employed as a sort of court of last resort for adjudicating the merits of less inclusive standards of reference as these are called in question by dissenting opinion. It would be our purpose (the final objective of our course) to anticipate this last named need through helping the student to formulate for himself an adequate philosophy of values.

THE CONSUMERS' COOPERATIVE MOVEMENT

EMANUEL STEIN

I. THE MEANING OF COOPERATION

Conspicuous among the institutions affecting the working class which were brought into being by the Industrial Revolution is the cooperative movement which has, in one form or another, become a world-wide phenomenon. The consumers' cooperative societies are among the largest and most influential business firms in most European countries, and their cooperative buying organizations wield tremendous strength. Just what consumers' cooperation means is a matter on which there is considerable disagreement. To some, it is merely a very limited effort to buy more for one's money than is ordinarily possible; others conceive of it as a harbinger of social equality; still others feel that the cooperative movement will some day replace the political state as the predominant agency of government. Thus, one writer defines it as "a union of many consumers for the purpose of securing in the purchase of commodities advantages impossible to be obtained by one, through an equitable division of the profits derived from their purchases."¹ To Watkins, the cooperative movement signifies an attempt by one means or another "to eliminate the middleman, the employer, and the private creditor, and to substitute for these the collected ownership and control of affiliated cooperators."² One of the most interesting statements is that of Charles R. Fay, who³ regards a cooperative society as "an association for the purposes of joint trading originating among the weak and

¹Carroll D. Wright, *Cooperative Distribution in Great Britain* (Boston, 1886) p. 12, T. S. Adams and Helen L. Sumner, *Labor Problems*, p. 379.

²G. S. Watkins, *Cooperation: A Study in Constructive Economic Reform* (Urbana, University of Illinois, 1921), p. 6. *Labor Problems* (New York: The Crowell Publishing Company, 1929), pp. 511-512.

³Charles R. Fay, *Cooperation at Home and Abroad*, 3d edition (London: P. S. King and Son, Ltd., 1925) p. 5.

conducted always in an unselfish spirit, on such terms that all who are prepared to assume the duties of membership may share in its rewards in proportion to the degree in which they make use of their association." He adds, "Cooperation in the sense of our inquiry implies a bond of union over and above the casual relations of the money tie; it implies, that is to say, a coöperative society in which the associated members join together for the attainment in common of some business purpose. There is no necessity that the compact should be perpetual, but each member, so long as he remains so, binds himself to regulate this relations, in so far as these concern the society, in the interests of the society as a whole."⁴ Dr. James P. Warbasse, president of the Coöperative League of America, explains a coöperative society as " . . . a voluntary association in which the people organize democratically to supply their needs through mutual action, and in which the motive of production and distribution is service, not profit. In the cooperative movement the ultimate tendency is towards the creation of a social structure capable of supplanting both profit-making industry and the compulsory political state."⁵

But regardless of the special emphasis of any definition, certain characteristics of coöperation seem to be common to almost all cooperative societies, first, that cooperation is a purely voluntary movement which generally centers among the workers; second, that it has its inception in economic activities, particularly buying and selling; third, that it aims to cheapen commodities by the abolition of middlemen's profits; fourth, that its announced goal is not merely economical purchasing, but a complete democratic control of all industrial activity which will include in its scope not only the working classes but all groups in society.

⁴Fay, *op cit*, pp. 23

⁵James P. Warbasse, *Coöperative Democracy Through Voluntary Association of the People as Consumers*, 2d edition (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1927), p. 8

II. THE DEVELOPMENT OF COÖPERATION

Consumers' coöperation as it is known today had its beginnings in England in 1844 with the formation at Rochdale of the Equitable Pioneers' Cooperative Society. There had been, it is true, earlier efforts at cooperation, prominent among which was that of Robert Owen who is often referred to as the "father" of coöperation. The years from 1828 to 1834 witnessed intense cooperative activity.⁶ Thus, the first Cooperative Congress which was held at Manchester in May 1830 was attended by delegates from fifty-six societies which had 3,000 members and a combined capital of about £60,001.⁷ And the report of the third Cooperative Congress shows one society with 3,000 members, another with 150, and a third with 140.⁸ It was during this same period that Dr. William King, the Brighton physician, edited *The Co-operator*. But none of these societies lasted for any length of time.⁹ It was the Pioneers, however, who gave the movement the impetus which has carried it down to the present day. Their purpose was to right the wrongs they felt they had suffered at the hands of their employers¹⁰—to establish equity in industry.¹¹ They asserted that "the objects of the Society are to arrange for the pecuniary benefit and improvement of the social and domestic condition of its members, by raising a sufficient amount of capital in shares of one pound sterling each to bring into operation the following plans and arrangements: (1) the establishment of a store for the sale of provisions, clothing, etc.; (2) the purchase or erection of a number of houses in which these members who desire to assist each other to improve their domestic and social conditions may reside; (3) to commence the

⁶Emerson P. Harris, E. S. Wiers, and F. Hooke, *Coöperation, the Hope of the Consumer* (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1918), p. 216.

⁷Wright, *op cit*, p. 13.

⁸"On Co operation," reprinted from *Monthly Repository*, July, 1832, p. 5.

⁹Harris, *op cit*, p. 217.

¹⁰H. Clay, *Coöperation and Private Enterprise* (London: Benn Brothers, 1928), p. 3.

¹¹G. J. Holyoake, *History of Coöperation*, vol. 2 (London: Trubner, 1878), p. 34.

manufacture of such articles as the Society may determine upon for the employment of members who may be without employment, or who may be suffering in consequence of repeated reductions in their wages, (4) as a further benefit and security to the members of this Society, the Society shall purchase or rent an estate or estates of land, which shall be cultivated by the members who may be out of employment, or whose labour may be poorly remunerated; (5) that as soon as practicable, this Society shall proceed to arrange the powers of production, distribution, education, and government, or in other words, to establish a self-supporting home colony of united interests, or assist other Societies in establishing such colonies; (6) that for the promotion of sobriety, a temperance hotel be opened in one of the Society's houses as soon as convenient^{11,12}

After some difficulty in securing even the modest capital with which they began, they started business in a very small shop, the original stock being limited to four commodities: flour, oatmeal, sugar, and butter¹³. In the management of their store and their society, they introduced certain principles which have colored the whole history of cooperative projects and have come to be regarded as the fundamental bases of any consumers' cooperative society. It was decided that there was to be as nearly absolute democracy of control as possible: one man, one vote, regardless of the amount of money invested in the enterprise. It was further decided that the stockholders were to be rewarded not with a share of the profits but with a definite rate of interest, like any other loan. What profits there were were to be given to the consumers on the basis of the amount of the purchases made¹⁴. Thus an incentive was given to the member to make as many purchases as possible at the cooperative store¹⁵. Membership was to be free

¹¹L. S. Woolf, *Cooperation and the Future of Industry* (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1918), p. 24.

¹²Wright, *op cit*, p. 19.

¹³Woolf, *op cit*, p. 34.

¹⁴It became customary to give nonmember buyers half the rebate they would have got as members.

to all but those who might prove detrimental to the best interests of the society. Those without the necessary funds to buy a share of stock were to be allowed to pay an initial small sum and to have the dividends on purchases apply towards payment for their shares. Furthermore, the value of the shares was fixed at one pound sterling to make it possible for the ordinary worker to buy them. Sales were to be for cash only, the perils of credit being thus avoided, and the prices to be charged were market prices rather than cost.¹⁴

In their ideas as seen in their prospectus, the plans of the Pioneers were not very different from those of their predecessors in cooperation. Their ultimate goal was self-employment and for a long time they kept before them the ideal of cooperative production.¹⁵ It required many years of business experience for the societies to realize that it was absolutely necessary to devote their full efforts to the cooperative work at hand.

Before any real spread of cooperation within Great Britain was possible, certain legal difficulties had to be removed. As matters stood in 1844, the societies as such could not legally deal with nonmembers; they might not hold land for any other purpose than the transaction of their own business;¹⁶ the liability of members was unlimited, and there was no legal way of preventing the embezzlement of the society's funds by any of the members.¹⁷ A series of enactments passed between 1846 and 1862, chief among which were the Industrial and Provident Societies Acts of 1852 and 1862, legalized cooperation for all purposes except landholding and banking, gave the associations a corporate basis, and permitted one society to hold stock in another. Without the passage of these

¹⁴Fay, *op cit*, pp 277-281, Warbasse, *op cit* pp 17-19

¹⁵B Webb, *The Discovery of the Consumer* (London: Benn Brothers, 1928), p. 6

¹⁶Even for their own business, they might not hold more than one acre of land

¹⁷E. P. Cheyney, *Introduction to the Industrial and Social History of England* (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1920), p. 303

laws, it is extremely doubtful whether the coöperatives could have succeeded.²⁰

The consumers' societies offered a striking contrast to their members from the evils of the private-store system. Inferior merchandise was frequently sold at high prices and the consumer had no method of self-defense. Furthermore, the dangerous practice of buying on credit caused many consumers to fall under the power of the store-keeper, a situation from which they found it difficult to extricate themselves. This situation together with the dividend on purchases, the legal enactments, the revolutionary movements of 1848-1849 which provided a great impetus to all radical movements, caused the Rochdale Society to grow amazingly. From a membership of 28 in 1844, it grew to 74 in 1845, to 600 in 1850, 1,400 in 1855, 3,450 in 1860, and 5,326 in 1865. During this same period, there was a corresponding increase in the amount of business done. In 1845, sales amounted to 710 pounds sterling, in 1850 to 13,125, in 1855 to 44,902, in 1860, 152,063, and in 1865 to 196,234 pounds sterling. As the business grew, more and more departments were added to the enterprise. Thus, in 1847, a linen and woolen draperies department was added, in 1850, a meat department, in 1852 shoes and a tailoring division, and in 1867, baking.²¹

From Rochdale, the movement spread very rapidly over the British Isles.²² The increase in size was particularly evident during the World War when the prospect of a food panic caused the consumers to flock to the coöperatives in such numbers that in 1914, for the first time in their history the societies called a temporary halt on new membership.

It was not long before the societies realized the advantages of a central buying agency. From the very earliest

²⁰Wright, *op cit.*, pp 22-23

²¹Wright, *op cit.*, p 19

²²Fay, *op cit.*, p 279, and People's Year Book (Manchester, 1931), p 22

days, societies in certain parts of the country placed their orders together in order to realize the economies of large-scale purchasing, and there were even some abortive attempts at starting a wholesale organization.²³ It was not until 1863 that the Co-operative Wholesale Society was founded under the name of "The North of England Co-operative Wholesale Industrial and Provident Society."²⁴ Its object was " . . . to dispense with the services of all unnecessary and profit-making agents between the consumers of commodities and their producers, and thus to economise the cost of living."²⁵

In a further effort to free the consumers from middlemen, the Co-operative Wholesale Society started a "Deposit and Loan Department" in 1872 for the convenience of its members.²⁶ In the same year it was proposed to start manufacturing enterprises, and, in the following year, the Crumpsall Biscuit Works was established. Since then the Wholesale has added constantly to its production projects. At present, its enterprises may be divided into four classes: foodstuffs and kindred commodities; textiles, clothing, etc., furniture, utensils, and household goods; and diverse enterprises such as saw mills, pottery and bottle works, and so on.²⁷ In addition, it has a very large insurance department in which almost all of the local societies are insured.

It was originally planned to buy staples for the various member societies on a commission basis. Soon, however, it was decided to charge the members market prices and to distribute profits in proportion to purchases. The relation of the individual society to the Wholesale is very much like that of the individual consumer to his society. The thirty-two directors who manage the Wholesale are elected

²³Harris, *op cit*, p. 221.

²⁴Albert Sonnichsen, *Consumers' Cooperation* (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1919), p. 32.

²⁵*The CWS What Is It?* pp. 2-3.

²⁶Sidney and Beatrice Webb, *Consumers' Cooperative Movement* (New York: Longmans, Green and Company, 1921), pp. 98-99.

²⁷Peoples' Year Book, p. 69.

biennially by the delegates from the constituent associations.²⁸

Besides selling to the local societies most of what these organizations buy, the Wholesale performs for them other important services. It gives them very valuable suggestions on the conduct of their business—it provides auditors, expert stock-takers, a building department of which the local units may avail themselves in their building projects, if any society should get into financial difficulties because of mismanagement or dishonesty the Wholesale stands ready to step in and manage the enterprise until it is once more on a sound footing. Perhaps as important as anything else is the work of advertising and publicity by means of which the C.W.S. spreads coöperative information and propaganda.

The C.W.S.²⁹ has thus far performed its functions admirably. Of it, the Webbs have said,³⁰ "There may be on the Wholesale Board no great captain of industry, no Napoleon of commerce, no administrative genius, but, taken as a whole, these plain men, almost entirely of working-class extraction with a formal education limited usually to that of the primary school, have managed to create and to maintain in efficiency an extraordinarily successful business organization."

What the C.W.S. is to the business side of the consumers' coöperative movement, the Cooperative Union³¹ is to its cultural and organization aspect. The Union originated in a number of conferences held in the north of England by the various societies which wanted to exchange experiences,³² benefit by each other's mistakes, and take steps for mutual improvement. These conferences led up to a national meeting at London in 1868 to which all societies

²⁸Harry W. Laidler, *British Coöperative Movement* (New York: Coöperative League of America, 1917).

²⁹The Coöperative Wholesale is usually called the C.W.S.

³⁰Sidney and Beatrice Webb, *op cit*, p. 130.

³¹J. Allen and J. C. Gray, *The Coöperative Union: Its Necessity and Advantages*.

³²Sonnichsen, *op cit*, p. 37.

were invited to send delegates;³³ in the following year, the Union was founded.³⁴

The purpose of the new organization was to act as the executive authority or as a national committee for the whole movement, and was to embrace not only distributive associations, but all cooperative organizations.³⁵ Its functions were executive, educational, advisory, and defensive. Its executive work included the relations of the British societies with the International Cooperative Alliance, and with the Government. Its educational work is of particular interest. The educational department has for many years devoted all its efforts to introducing educational activities of one kind or another among British cooperators. Functioning in an advisory capacity are the legal, financial, labor, and statistical departments whose work is of the greatest importance to the societies. The study of political matters, the question of the cooperative party, and similar subjects are included among the defensive activities of the union.³⁶

At the present time, the Union has a total membership of 1,224 societies with 6,022,950 members.³⁷ Although its work falls far short of what may be desired, it nevertheless performs very useful functions. The annual Co-operative Congress which is under its supervision and the Central Board which is the guiding genius exercise " . . . an all-pervading intangible influence on every coil and every eddy of the four million cooperators of the United Kingdom."³⁸

From England, the movement spread rather rapidly to other countries where the history and experiences of co-operative societies were a little different from those of the English. In some places, cooperation, once begun, flour-

³³*Ibid.*, p. 38

³⁴Originally the Union was known as the Central Board

³⁵Sidney and Beatrice Webb, *op. cit.*, p. 137

³⁶T. W. Mercer, *The Co-operative Union: Its Organization and Work* (Manchester 1924)

³⁷People's Year Book (1931), p. 84

³⁸Sidney and Beatrice Webb, *op. cit.*, p. 152

ished immediately. Thus in Switzerland and in the Scandinavian countries, cooperation has made rather rapid headway. In other countries, particularly the United States, the movement seems to have made little or no headway. In still others, it seems to be at a standstill.

There has also been in a good many cases a rather interesting departure from Rochdale principles. In at least one instance,³⁹ attention is shifted from dividends on purchases to provision for old-age pensions, life, sickness and unemployment insurance, maternity benefits, medical care, and so on. There are many cases of cooperatives avoiding the Rochdale principle of absolute neutrality in political affairs. Thus the British societies have a Cooperative party, the Belgians are rather closely allied to the Socialist party, and in Austria, the Viennese society joins with the municipality in the distribution of milk and coal.⁴⁰ The Russian societies have departed furthest from Rochdale in this respect. Viewing the situation in the U.S.S.R. with apparent complacency, the C.W.S. says, " . . . here the cooperative movement is held in such high eminence as to have become a joint partner with the state itself in serving the people's interests."⁴¹

Coöperation has without doubt become a significant factor in world economy. The latest available statistics⁴² show that there are altogether 39,831 societies of which the U.S.S.R. has 24,561 and the United States 128; the Russian societies have 33,428,600 members, the British 5,885,135, the American 124,698. The Russians did a total business of \$4,935,517,900, the British \$1,046,947,700, and the Americans \$20,796,897.⁴³

³⁹Belgium

⁴⁰Warbasse, *op cit*, p. 43

⁴¹People's Year Book (1931), p. 162

⁴²In most cases these figures are for 1929, where these were inaccessible, the statistics for 1928 were used. Second Year Book, Cooperative League of the U.S.A. (New York, 1932)

⁴³*Ibid.*

RESEARCH PROJECTS AND METHODS IN EDUCATIONAL SOCIOLOGY

In order that this section of THE JOURNAL may be of the greatest possible service, its readers are urged to send at once to the editor of this department titles—and where possible descriptions—of current research projects now in process in educational sociology and also those projects in kindred fields of interest to educational sociologists. Correspondence upon proposed projects and methods will be welcomed.

DATA ON STUDIES IN JUVENILE DELINQUENCY AND CRIME

It has been pointed out that current information on research in a given field of study is valuable for many reasons. It may help to stimulate interest and cooperation on the part of scholars engaged in the same types of work and it may avoid needless duplication of intellectual effort. Because of the difficulty of securing information about current research in criminology and closely allied fields, the Bureau of Social Hygiene, Inc., has invited a small group of specialists to serve as an advisory council to report at regular intervals on research in progress or planned.¹

Descriptions of over 100 studies in progress in the general field of criminological research were presented in the first *Criminological Research Bulletin* of the Bureau in June 1931. The second issue of the bulletin, which appeared in April 1932, contains information submitted by members of the advisory council on the status of the projects reported in the first number and on new projects launched since 1931. This report includes studies dealing with criminal statistics; causation and prevention (juvenile delinquency), police, criminal law, procedure and the administration of justice (for both juveniles and adults); probation, and penal treatment (including both the institutional and parole types).

In September 1932, the *Research Bulletin* of the National Education Association dealt with "Crime Prevention

¹This council includes Herman M. Adler, Ernest W. Burgess, Charles L. Chute, C. E. Gehlke, Sheldon Glueck, Calvin H. Goddard, George W. Kirchwey, Fred A. Knolke, Austin H. MacCormick, Raymond Moley, Bruce Smith, A. Warren Stearns, Edwin H. Sutherland, William I. Thomas, and August Vollmer.

Through Education." In addition to interpretations by the editors of the Research Division, the bulletin presents from the literature brief summaries of materials dealing with statistics on crime, crime costs and school expenditures; factors associated with crime, the problem of the delinquent child; the social agencies of crime prevention, organizations interested in crime prevention, and a selected bibliography. While the contents of this bulletin are not complete or exhaustive, they should prove stimulating to teachers and school administrators.

The Recreation Department of the Russell Sage Foundation has collected data on studies in the field of juvenile delinquency which have just been published in the form of a mimeographed bulletin by the National Recreation Association. The bulletin contains an account of 35 selected studies in juvenile delinquency, those for the most part making some reference to recreational activities. Over 50 additional items are listed, chiefly dissertations in preparation for advanced degrees in academic institutions.

The April (1933) issue of *THE JOURNAL* will be devoted entirely to the presentation of articles dealing with juvenile delinquency and education.

RECENT TRENDS IN AMERICAN EDUCATION

An interesting study of recent trends in American education is being carried on by Professor Newton Edwards of the School of Education of the University of Chicago. He is attempting to canvass the literature of the social sciences including economics, sociology, and political science in order to discover significant data which may have educational implications. In other words, he is attempting to point out the educational implications which may be drawn from such factual data as have been discovered by research workers in the field of social science.

Studies of this type will make a genuine contribution to the field of educational sociology in developing a body of

materials which may serve as a basis for educational practice and organization. In many cases, the educationist's knowledge of social science is the common sense or partial interpretation of the amateur. Systematic application of the facts of the social sciences to all phases of educational practice and theory has yet to be made. Such a study as Professor Edwards is undertaking will help decrease the "cultural lag" between education and the social sciences.

NEW YORK STATE SOCIAL-WORK RESEARCH

A State-wide social intelligence service with facilities for currently assembling information on all phases of social-welfare activity in the State, and for systematically compiling data to be sent to the Albany headquarters of the State Department's Bureau of Research, was established on April 1 by the New York State Department of Social Welfare in cooperation with a Committee of the Social Science Research Council, the United States Children's Bureau, the American Statistical Association, and the American Association of Public Welfare Officials, according to a recent issue of *Better Times*.

The reports issued by this new service will show the taxpayer what use is being made of his contribution to the State's welfare budget, the total volume of such services, and the manner in which public and private agencies are sharing the cost.

The State Department's Bureau of Research is the authorized agency for this three-year demonstration project.¹ The scope of the study will include all social-welfare agencies coming under the jurisdiction of the Department. It was undertaken at the request of the Social Statistics Committee of the Social Science Research Council. David M. Schneider is directing the project.

¹It has appointed an advisory committee consisting of Dr. Ralph G. Hurn of the Russell Sage Foundation, chairman, Frank Bane, American Association of Public Welfare Officials, Sara Kerr, Buffalo Foundation, Katherine F. Lenroot of the U. S. Children's Bureau, and Dr. Horatio M. Pollock, New York State Department of Mental Hygiene. The State Board of Social Welfare has also appointed a special committee on research consisting of Victor F. Ridder, Mrs. Mary G. Simkhovitch, Arthur Lehman, and Paul S. Livermore, all of whom are members of the Board.

BOOK REVIEWS

Crime, Criminals and Criminal Justice, by NATHANIEL F. CANTOR. New York Henry Holt and Company, 1932, 470 pages.

The Problem of Crime, by CLAYTON JAMES ETTINGER
New York: Long and Smith, 1932, 538 pages.

Criminology, by ROBERT HARVEY GAULT. New York:
D C. Heath and Company, 1932, 460 pages.

The year 1932 has produced three new criminologies written by a lawyer, a psychiatrist, and a psychologist, respectively. Each is incomplete in terms of the other three and the trio forms a well-rounded whole.

Cantor's *Crime, Criminals and Criminal Justice* is, as the title would indicate, by far the most ambitious of the three. He attempts to cover the whole field and succeeds admirably in his sections on The Administration of Criminal Justice (Part III, 6 chapters) and Penology (Part IV, 7 chapters), where his knowledge of the law results in a new and much needed emphasis.

The second book, *The Problem of Crime*, is by Ettinger, the psychiatrist. While his outstanding contribution is from this angle, he has produced a very useful and well-developed analysis of the field. Without waste of time and printer's ink he at once tackles the problem of The Criminal in twelve excellent chapters. It is in this section that he makes his original contribution from the field of psychiatry.

The third book, *Criminology*, is by Gault of Northwestern University. He disavows at the outset any attempt at an "exhaustive discussion, or even complete cataloguing, of the data of criminology." His is the study of the psychological factors involved. Three quarters of the book deals with the problem of the criminal personality and the second section on The Struggle Against Crime is predominated by the psychological approach. Despite the title this book is not a criminology, but it is a most valuable contribution to the field.

Responsibility, Its Development Through Punishment and Reward, by LAURENCE SEARS. New York: Columbia University Press, 1932, 198 pages.

In this compact little volume, the author begins with an analysis of theories of responsibility, philosophically considered. These theories are briefly but clearly sketched and an evaluation made. Seven social philosophers have been considered: Jeremy Bentham, Alexander Bain,

John Stuart Mill, Edward Westermarck, T. H. Green, F. H. Bradley, John Dewey. The ideas of these authors as regards morals and ethics as socializing forces are evaluated and the rôle of the personality considered from the angle of early personality development. Part II of the book is a consideration of the development of responsibility in twelve definite case studies of children, which cases are covered rather completely. In the final section of the book, Part III, there is an evaluation of the various ethical theories in the light of empirical data.

Education and the Social Crisis, by WILLIAM HEARD KILPATRICK. New York: Van Rees Press, 1932, 90 pages.

After the author has in his usual clear fashion set forth the attendant evils of our present socio-economic system, he raises the serious question, "Is there a way out?" Relying upon the development of a sane group leadership, holding that we cannot depend upon individual leadership, Kilpatrick sets forth what the profession of education should do in terms of a fourfold program. First, help to supply the much needed expert economic knowledge. Second, the members of our profession must become really socially minded and socially disposed. Third, we must inaugurate an epoch-making system of adult education exceeding the bounds of anything yet dreamed of by those in this field. The public schools cannot remain the educational centers of individuals in the first third of their life only. They must truly become centers of continuous educational growth throughout the total of each individual's life in the community served by the school.

Human Sterilization, by JACOB HENRY LANDMAN. New York. The Macmillan Company, 1932, 341 pages.

Human sterilization for human betterment, but with no Utopian idea of the production of a race of supermen is the thesis of this book. The author recognizes the futility, for the present at least, of even considering any wholesale plan of correcting the heredity in general of the social group. The book is cautious and scientific. There is nothing of the enthusiastic eugenicist or the propagandist about it. Eugenics and social legislation, sterilization and the courts, biological bases, the surgery of sterilization, and the problem of a social policy with regard to eugenic sterilization represents the main divisions of this study.

Readings in Citizenship, by JOHN CATRON JONES AND AMRY AND MARY BELLE VANDENBOSCH. New York. The Macmillan Company, 1932, 908 pages.

Readings in Citizenship is another attack on the social problems of the day. It is frankly the outgrowth of the authors' experience in a course in citizenship for freshmen at the University of Kentucky. The problems presented are selected rather than inclusive and cover the

field of education in its broader application, some economic problems, some problems of political organization, and a chapter on population. The readings are well selected and adequately coordinated by introductions to the various chapters. The book has all of the advantages and disadvantages inherent in such an effort

Some Aspects of American Culture, by JAMES TRUSLOW ADAMS. New York: Albert and Charles Boni, 1929, ix+306 pages

The famous American historian has here brought together thirteen of his popular essays on unpopular topics, all of which have previously appeared in various magazines. Elsewhere he has written of American "strawberries", here he writes of American "prunes and cucumbers." Teachers will be especially interested in his discussion of "a business man's civilization," "our dissolving ethics," "our lawless heritage," "To 'be' or to 'do,'" "mass production and intellectual production," "the mucker pose," and "the art of living." In a word, can a great civilization be built up or maintained upon the philosophy of the counting-house and the sole basic idea of a profit? The financial depression has meantime helped to answer the question

American Business Leaders, by FRANK WILLIAM TAUSSIG AND CARL SMITH JOSLYN. New York: The Macmillan Company, 1932, xiv+319 pages.

This book gives the results of a survey conducted by the authors in an attempt to determine the source of the business leaders in America. In making the study, more than 15,000 questionnaires were sent to men who were recognized as business leaders. From the results of the questionnaire, the authors conclude that 44 per cent of the leaders in American business are recruited from the well-to-do elements of the community; 43.5 per cent of the leaders are drawn from the middle class, which is made up of farmers, clerks, or salesmen, minor executives, and small owners. The authors suggest that the evidence from the questionnaires is insufficient to justify characterizing the present generation of American business leaders as a "caste-like group."

The Fields and Methods of Knowledge, by RAYMOND F. PIPER AND PAUL W. WARD. New York: F. S. Crofts and Company, 1930, xii+398 pages

Two Syracuse University professors of philosophy have here provided a textbook in an orientation course for college freshmen. It includes both a summary of human knowledge and an analysis of human knowing, the latter from the viewpoint of Dr. Dewey. Among the scientific and philosophical fields surveyed are mathematics, astronomy, geology, geography, physics, chemistry, biology, psychology, history, sociology, ethics, aesthetics, religion, and metaphysics. The account of science

rific method covers thinking, observation, judgment, inference, induction, deduction, verification, discovery, the use of statistics, and the organization of knowledge. There are illustrations, tables, bibliographies, questions, exercises, and index. A usable text admirably adapted to its purpose.

Mysticism and Logic, by BERTRAND RUSSELL. New York: W. W. Norton and Company, Inc., 1929, 234 pages.

The distinguished English mathematician and philosopher has here brought together ten of his more popular essays. The first one gives the title to the volume. The others deal with the place of science in a liberal education, a free man's worship, mathematics and metaphysics, scientific method in philosophy, the constitution of matter, sense-data and physics, the notion of cause, and knowledge by acquaintance and description. A short preface indicates his change in opinion away from Platonism towards realism under the influence of Santayana's *Winds of Doctrine*. "The truth is apt to be both annoying and trivial, therefore in the pursuit of it kindness and sublimity must be equally ignored." In his own penetrating and inimitable way, Russell holds that mysticism as feeling is valuable, but as logic is erroneous.

Psychology and Religious Experience, by W. FEARON HALLIDAY. New York: Richard R. Smith, Inc., 1929, 320 pages.

A British professor of theology undertakes to apply the new analytic psychology to the work of the minister. He seeks to allay the ministerial prejudice against the use of psychology in the healing of souls. While the treatment does not claim to be complete, it is based on disguised case studies. Among the subjects treated are religious experience as objective, love and religion, hidden motives, religion as substitution, false sympathy, wrong ideas of sainthood, right parental attitude, recording personal impressions in pastoral work, phantasy-thinking, rationalizing, taboos, and sanctions. A readable, useful first book in the subject.

Biological Foundations of Education, by OTIS W. CALDWELL, CHARLES E. SKINNER, AND JOHN W. TIETZ. New York: Ginn and Company, 1931, 534 pages.

The authors of this volume are to be congratulated in having organized an interesting and informative survey of these sciences which underlie the nature of man and of the living process. This book has a free and clear style. It is accurate. It is the type of text which could well be used in secondary schools or even in university science courses. It is good reading for any one interested in obtaining a panoramic view of himself and animal life in general especially as these are related to a wider universe. The book orients and integrates such basic sciences

as astronomy, geology, biology, genetics, physiology, and psychology. Throughout, however, runs a philosophy which welds one idea and fact on to another to fashion a coordinated picture of great value.

The Treatment of Behavior Disorders Following Encephalitis, by EARL D. BOND, M.D., AND KENNETH E. APPEL, M.D. New York: Commonwealth Fund, 1931, 163 pages.

Here is a book which every teacher should know thoroughly. It is well written, clear cut, and discusses methods which should be part of the art and science of any educational procedure. Specifically, encephalitis is shown to be the cause of frequent and serious social maladjustment, which is badly handled by the usual agencies which society provides; e.g., prisons, psychopathic wards, reformatories, and the like.

It is shown that a well-thought-out educational method is the only promising measure. The teacher who can absorb and really sense the mode of thinking and the viewpoint set forth so admirably by the authors will gain something of inestimable value. This reviewer feels that this work is of especial value to physical educators.

"The Direct Contribution of Educational Psychology to Teacher Training," Yearbook XX of the National Society of College Teachers of Education. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1932, 154 pages.

Eleven leaders in the field of educational psychology have contributed independent articles evaluating current practices in the field, or the outlook for the future, relative to teacher training. Selection of students, the place of educational psychology in the curriculum, methods, measurement of results, training and equipment of teachers of educational psychology, and a selected bibliography are some of the chapters. Sterility is not evidenced by these leaders and educational psychology may be expected to continue to advance if the present volume is a criterion.

The Measurement of the Intelligence of Young Children by an Object-Fitting Test, by RUTH ELLEN ATKINS. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota, Institute of Child Welfare, Monograph No. 5, 1931, xii+89 pages.

The value of any test, or series of tests, to be used for the measurement of intelligence, can be determined best by the help these tests give to those who are trying to study the abilities or disabilities of children. We can commend the Object-Fitting Test described by Dr. Ruth Allen Atkins in her monograph, *The Measurement of Intelligence*.

of Young Children by an Object-Fitting Test, to those who are seeking more and better nonlanguage tests. In the monograph under consideration, Dr Atkins has presented in a direct, simple fashion the data which supports her claim that the Object-Fitting Test fulfills all the conditions she believes necessary for a good intelligence test.

Behind the Door of Delusion, by "INMATE WARD 8."
New York: The Macmillan Company, 1932, 325 pages.

Avowedly not psychotic, but using the State hospital as a retreat of last resort in the cure of the liquor habit, the author presents the routine and nonroutine life of a hospital for the insane. The characterizations and analyses (not Freudian!) are well done and serve to present a rather typical picture. These objections leave the book a worth-while addition to its companion volumes of the same type. There is a strong suspicion that it may have been written by, or in collaboration with, a hospital physician.

Alcohol and Man, edited by HAVEN EMERSON, et al. New York: The Macmillan Company, 1932, xi+451 pages.

In an era flooded with partisan opinion regarding the question of prohibition, it is with a great deal of zest that one finds a nonpartisan view of this subject. In a symposium of factual opinions based on views gathered from the various fields of medicine and associated sciences comes a book which stresses neither the "wet" nor "dry," "anti" nor "pro" opinions on prohibition. The editors headed by Haven Emerson have selected leaders from the fields of biology, physiology, pharmacology, pathology, psychology, psychiatry, and actuary fields. Certain differences of opinion will be found between the various contributors, but these differences exist in a "minor degree and tend to rather emphasize the general agreement on all essential facts and attitudes." In conclusion one might say that this book presents for the first time scientific evidence usable by the teaching and ministerial professions who can look at the problem with a relatively small amount of emotionalism and a maximum amount of objective reasoning.

Race and Population Problems, by HANNIBAL GERALD DUNCAN. New York: Longmans, Green and Company, 1929, 424 pages.

A standard and adequate treatment of our friend, "the population problem," with special emphasis on the racial concomitant. It is well written and well organized and makes a good text for classroom use.

BOOKS RECEIVED

Child Psychology, by Buford F. Johnson. Springfield, Illinois: Charles C. Thomas.

- Classroom Teacher and Character Education*, Seventh Yearbook of the Department of Classroom Teachers, National Education Association Washington, D. C. National Education Association
- Concentration in American Industry*, by Harry W Laidler. New York Thomas Y Crowell Company
- Education and the Modern World*, by Bertrand Russell New York W W Norton and Company
- Education for a New Era*, by A. Gordon Melvin New York The John Day Company.
- Education on the Air*, Third Yearbook of the Institute for Education by Radio, edited by Josephine MacLatchy Columbus, Ohio Ohio State University.
- Educational Yearbook, 1931*, of the International Institute of Teachers College, Columbia University, edited by I L Kandel New York Bureau of Publications, Teachers College, Columbia University
- Farm and Village Housing* Publication of the President's Conference on Home Building and Home Ownership Washington, D C
- Habits Their Making and Unmaking*, by Knight Dunlap New York Horace Liveright.
- Housing and the Community—Home Repair and Remodeling* Publication of the President's Conference on Home Building and Home Ownership Washington, D C
- Housing Objectives and Programs* Publication of the President's Conference on Home Building and Home Ownership Washington, D C
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- Marriage*, by Ernest R Groves New York Henry Holt and Company.
- Medieval Scene*, by C G Coulton New York The Macmillan Company
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- New Problems in Elementary School Instruction*, by Clifford Woody Bloomington, Illinois Public School Publishing Company
- Planning for Residential Districts* Publication of the President's Conference on Home Building and Home Ownership Washington, D C
- Probation and Criminal Justice*, by Sheldon Glueck New York The Macmillan Company
- Secondary Education*, by Herbert G Lull New York W W Norton and Company
- Slums, Large-Scale Housing and Decentralization* Publication of the President's Conference on Home Building and Home Ownership Washington, D C
- Training of Social Workers*, by James E. Hagerty New York McGraw-Hill Book Company, Inc.

NEWS FROM THE FIELD

Chancellor Brown's Successor

New York University trustees are to be congratulated on the selection of Dr. Harry W. Chase as successor to Chancellor Brown. He has made full demonstration of his ability as a university president. Before his experience for years in North Carolina and later in Illinois, he had preparation as a scholar and a successful record as a teacher. Especially has he been equipped, as Chancellor Brown was, in philosophy, for, as Cicero said in his *Tusculan Disputations*, it is to philosophy as a guide of life that we must ever look for aid. Particularly pertinent is the passage which reminds us that philosophy not only gave birth to cities, but united their inhabitants in the ties of common literature and speech, discovered law, and became the teacher of morality and order.

President Chase's philosophy, as revealed in his policies and notably in an address which he made here last year at the Conference of Universities, is especially welcome in this vast City where a leader must look far into the past and yet must serve the multitude about him. The university, with its training of leaders—"the few thousand minds that keep civilization going," minds upon which its economic and political life depends, as also its art and culture—has yet a deep responsibility to "the general level of our social intelligence."

Unless men and women by hundreds and thousands shall have some understanding of what sort of world they live in, unless they are adapted intellectually, emotionally, and morally to cope with it reasonably well, the results will be disastrous.

Thus is set forth his conception of the mission of the university in developing personalities that can live happily and usefully in a civilization that "refuses to stand still for us to catch up with it." His educational faith, declared when president of a State university (that education is not too precious to be touched and handled by the average man), will find new opportunity for expression in a private institution which has made the metropolitan area, with its millions, its special field of service.

Born and educated in New England, living for twenty years in the South and spending a full two years in the Middle West, Dr. Chase comes especially endowed for the greater task in this cosmopolitan City which has gathered men and women from every part of the nation and from many other nations into its aspiring life—*The New York Times*, January 25, 1933.

Dr. H. E. Hendrix, Superintendent of Schools of Mesa, Arizona, was elected State Superintendent of the State of Arizona in the recent election. Dr. Hendrix has many friends among the alumni of the School of Education who will be pleased to note his recognition in being elected to this high office.

At the biennial meeting of the Alpha Kappa Delta, National Honorary Sociological Society, held at Cincinnati, Ohio, December 29, Dr. Read

Bain of Miami University was elected president; Dr. H. N. Shenton of Syracuse University, vice president, and Dr. T. Earl Sullenger of the Municipal University of Omaha, secretary-treasurer. This society now has twenty-seven chapters located in outstanding universities and colleges in the United States. It exists for the purpose of promoting high scholarship in sociology and for the development and encouragement of social research.

New Approach to the Social Studies

The American Council of Education has launched a new plan for the study of the achievements of civilization. A series of short and attractive reading units are being published, designed to supply people with accounts of the way in which social evaluation has produced such institutions as the alphabet, numbers, weights and measures, the calendar, and governmental regulations. Each unit is a single booklet of thirty-two or sixty-four pages, fully illustrated and written in a style which will appeal to pupils of the upper grades in high school. These brochures are not textbooks, but a most excellent type of supplementary material.

CONTRIBUTORS' PAGE

Dr. Philip A. Cowen received his B.S. degree from the University of Illinois, his A.M. from Columbia University, and his Ph.D. from New York University. He has taught science in the Cambridge High School, Ohio, was instructor in education in Dartmouth College, and summer instructor in Illinois State Normal University. Dr. Cowen is now research associate in the New York State Education Department.

Dr. Edwin G. Flemming received his LL.B. in 1910 from the University of Buffalo, his A.B. in 1915 from Cornell University, his A.M. in 1920 from the University of Wisconsin, and his Ph.D. in 1928 from Columbia University. Dr. Flemming has had wide teaching experience, having taught public speaking, English, and psychology since 1916 in several of the well-known universities in the United States. Dr. Flemming is now engaged in private research.

Professor Joseph R. Geiger received his A.B. degree from Furman University in 1909, his A.M. degree from John B. Stetson University in 1912, and his Ph.D. degree from the University of Chicago in 1914. He has been professor and head of the department of philosophy and psychology in the College of William and Mary since 1916.

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EDITORIAL

The present issue of THE JOURNAL which has been prepared under the direction of Dr. Frederic M. Thrasher, associate professor of education and director of the Boys' Club and Motion Picture Studies of New York University, is particularly timely

Many additional topics bearing upon the general problem discussed in this issue would have made subjects for interesting articles, had space permitted, such as:

The "Save-the-Boy Movement" in Jersey City, New Jersey, in which the public schools are performing an important function in preventive work along with other agencies of the community

The Committee for the Prevention of Juvenile Delinquency of the New York City Principals Association which is a major project of that Association for 1932 and 1933. The aim of the Committee for the Prevention of Juvenile Delinquency is twofold:

- 1 To develop a practical functioning program for the prevention of juvenile delinquency

- 2 To apply the program experimentally in certain selected sections

The program for the first objective is fourfold

- a) To detect cases of potential delinquency
- b) To set up a diagnostic program for the clinic study of delinquency cases
- c) To work out a remedial program both intramural and extramural
- d) To lay out a program for preventive work

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HOW DOES THE SCHOOL PRODUCE OR PREVENT DELINQUENCY?

WILLIAM HEALY, M.D., *Director,*
Judge Baker Foundation, and

AUGUSTA F. BRONNER, Ph.D., *Associate Director,*
Judge Baker Foundation

The objective of this paper is the consideration of the relationship between school life and delinquency. One way of looking at both of these is that each represents an exceedingly important type of activity expressing needs, wants, and desires of children as they live under the conditions of modern society.

In the last three generations, one of the practical ideals of our forefathers has come to fruitful expression in the furtherance of school education for every child. So well has this ideal been realized that the student of social history can but be amazed at the extent to which the thoroughness and prolongation of public-school education has advanced in the last few decades. The school has become a vastly powerful factor in the life of childhood and youth. Next to the home, it appears as the most widely operative influence in the life of our young people. Secondary to the influences of family relationships and parental upbringing, it is the most constructive force in the formation of life's attitudes and interests.

The second mentioned social activity—really just this, though not often spoken of as such—is delinquency. Because of its extensiveness, the very frequent continuance of delinquency into criminal careers and the costliness to society of a delinquent and criminal career, delinquency is to be regarded as one of the major concerns of organized society. We need not discuss whether juvenile delinquency is or is not increasing—something very difficult to answer because of the many variables involved. The fact is that there is an immense amount of it and that among our great criminal population a very large percentage definitely began their careers with delinquency during

the years they were attending school. The school had these young people largely in charge when they were developing antisocial trends. This fact on the very face of it offers a great challenge.

Our two main queries—and we raise queries rather than offer sermonizings—center about two questions. To what extent and in what ways does school life ever possibly contribute to the development of antisocial trends expressed in the form of delinquency? To what extent and by what methods can the school be an effective agent in the prevention of delinquent careers?

Before determining any reply to these inquiries we must always take due account of the fact that through its school laws society does put its hands on every child, saying to it. Come to us and over eight or ten years we will educate you, draw you forth, develop you. In the light of this seizure of the child, can responsibility in considerable measure for character and conduct formation be evaded?

Perhaps one can go back of this and ask whether in the educational organization itself, supposed to exist entirely for the child's welfare, there can occur situations which are baleful influences for any child. And if there are, is it to be conceded that the school is to be held accountable for any disadvantages that accrue to the given child? Or, more specifically, are there school situations which create or arouse the growth of antisocial attitudes, and, if so, to what extent should the school make definite attempts to avoid or to meet such situations? We have had enough experience with specific cases to realize that these questions are pertinent and vitally significant.

And to go further, since, through their training, educators would seem properly to have at their command awarenesses and understandings of conduct trends, is it integrally a part of their province to utilize such implements towards the prevention of the development of such delinquent attitudes and behavior as may be discernible? In other words, have school people any responsibility for undertaking the prevention of delinquency which does not

directly arise from a school situation? Have educators obligations and duties in this matter of the prevention of delinquency, or are they merely to be considered as possessing techniques for passing on knowledge and skills? Are they to be believers in or to be concerned with the noble ideals of many of the outstanding figures in educational theory, those who accented the development of the whole child as a socialized being?

POOR ADAPTATION TO THE CURRICULUM

It has been very convincingly stated by several students of delinquency that school maladjustments of both upper and lower intelligence groupings are significantly related to the growth of delinquent trends. We agree to this, but would include those children who have special disabilities for any school subjects. The reasons for all this seems clear enough in the light of the situations considered below.

For the sake of logical presentation, incomplete to be sure, we may regard some types of problems as they fall in the above groupings. And all through we shall only consider the development of conduct trends which we have observed growing into full-blown delinquency. We may first review some instances where the ordered school régime penalizes certain children who present no special liabilities or who even are endowed with special assets.

It has been astonishing to us to find over the years some considerable number of very bright boys who are much more challenged by delinquent activities than by what they found to interest them in school life. Indeed, we have to confess that in some instances it has seemed to us that their skilled predatory pursuits have been much more in keeping with their intellectual status than the meager mental content offered by the school. In example, we might cite a most tragic case, finally ending in a penitentiary sentence and, perhaps fortunately, in death. We first knew him as a boy of fourteen in the fifth grade. At his court appearance, it came out that he was the leader of a group quite proficient in burglary. Because of his school retardation, the court people thought of him as being probably

subnormal. Psychological tests, however, showed his mental age to be about seventeen years. His academic backwardness was the result of frequent school changes, due to his father's being a seasonal worker who had frequently to move his residence. The boy had been made to repeat grades until he, quite naturally, had completely lost interest in school. He found himself with children much younger in age and vastly younger from an intelligence standpoint. To us he made his dissatisfaction very clear, with expressed scorn of the childish material of his school books—his reader told about "blackbirds sitting in the trees." He reacted by chronic truancy and found his satisfactions in antisocial activities worthy of his mettle.

Was it necessary for such a boy, representative of a whole group of cases in our series, to be so handicapped by school changes and to be so thwarted in school satisfactions? When his retardation first showed, could he not have received the minimum of aid that was necessary to have enabled him to maintain grade standing equivalent to his age, to say nothing of being commensurate with his outstanding capacity? Is it intelligent for a school system to have no provision for helping a student maintain himself upon his normal level even though coming from another system where the curriculum may be somewhat different? Of course, the easiest method admittedly is that of forcing the child to repeat a grade or demoting him, but it certainly is the costliest procedure.

At fourteen years, it was already too late to do much with this boy, with his long established bad attitudes towards school life. The discerning court officers found the case too difficult because there was no machinery in the schools to bridge the vast gap between his grade standing and the type of school work that might have interested and perhaps reclaimed him.

What can be accomplished when school people gain understanding and are cooperative is shown in the case of a boy nine years of age when seen by us, already the bad boy of his district in a town of moderate size. His de-

linquencies were of an aggressive, adventuresome type, including staying away from home long hours at night with older bad companions, some stealing, and a small amount of truancy. The case was particularly interesting because the parents were altogether of a good sort and the home, and particularly the father, had much to offer. This boy was in the fourth grade doing poor school work and it was proposed to place him in the third grade on account of this. We ascertained, however, that he was very much interested in geography, that he read much, and had some little talent for drawing. He was an energetic, active youngster, very fond of sports.

Our examination showed him to have an I.Q. of 125, with reading comprehension and information considerably above his years and his grade. His reasoning powers were particularly good. In the earlier grades, the teachers had found him somewhat troublesome on account of both his physical and intellectual activity but regarded him as likable and he did good work. To us there seemed no doubt that it was a question of challenging his interests which had within the last year turned so strongly away from school. At our suggestion, he was advanced to the fifth grade and given some special tutoring in arithmetic in which otherwise he would be found deficient. He maintained himself readily in the higher grade and within a short time was able to break off his associations with the older dull group with whom he had been in delinquency. His drawing and reading interests were fostered and through these and the other new mental content derived from his advancement he was able to find quite sufficient satisfactions other than antisocial behavior. Succeeding years have shown an increasing stability and assumption of responsibility that was undoubtedly due more to school adjustment than any other factor.

We know full well that recognition of the needs of super-endowed children has led some school systems to provide opportunities for rapid advancement or, better still, an enriched curriculum, but such wise planning is compara-

tively rare. Where such opportunities are not afforded, what behavior is to be expected as the normal reactive tendency of a highly endowed child in a dull school situation? Does not the child naturally turn elsewhere for mental pabulum? And if delinquency offers a greater adventure in satisfying the normal craving for new experiences, does it not represent normal behavior, unfortunately antisocial though it may be?

Delinquent behavior occurring among children who are poorly endowed intellectually is very generally recognized as being related to the mental subnormality. Indeed, the correlation between poor school achievement and truancy or other forms of misbehavior is often somewhat overstated, although it is universally true that delinquents as they appear in court show a relatively greater proportion of subnormal intelligence than appears in the general population. The general fact is so true and so understandable that no illustration need be given. The subnormal individual if left with his age group finds himself in competition completely beyond his powers, if in a special class he has the disadvantage of being rated a dullard. In either case, he may acquire a feeling of inadequacy and inferiority. Thus, many of this group find themselves without the recognition and security and satisfactions that any child needs for his personality and moral development. Failing to obtain these, nothing is more natural than that the child turn to activities that afford him satisfactions. The pleasurable returns of delinquency are very real and are measurable in concrete terms of success and achievement. That seems very plain to anybody who delves into motivations of delinquency through getting youngsters to reveal themselves by friendly inquiries through which the child can be led to give an account of his own life situation.

It is very fortunate that the efforts of school people to develop in special classes the educational and vocational aptitudes of subnormal children include attention to their special abilities. We find very few even clearly defective

children who have not some ability that rises above the general level of disability. Many investigators have shown the curious fact that a considerable proportion of delinquent defective children are distinctly hand-minded, able to comprehend concrete relationships and to work with concrete material as well as the average child of their age and sometimes better. Testing for motor skills of all kinds, such as eye-hand coordinations and for mechanical dexterity, proves the point as such abilities are found in large proportion among the subnormal delinquents who have come to our attention.

The late Judge Cabot of the Boston Juvenile Court became so impressed by the validity of these findings and by the common-sense values of ascertaining special utilizable abilities that he strongly emphasized the social import of this matter in his daily work and in his presentations of juvenile-court ideals. Therefore, psychological examination of a subnormal delinquent should consist of more than giving him an intelligence quotient; whenever possible special abilities should be ascertained and the findings made known to school authorities who might respond by utilizing these abilities for the production of greater school achievement and satisfaction. We can attest, as can many others in this field, that work with subnormal delinquents on the basis of developing their special abilities has been a saving grace for them, developing interests, achievements, and superiorities that in many cases have been able to outweigh the pleasurable activities that had been begun in the field of antisocial conduct.

The child with special disabilities for any of the school subjects is much less understood as a case of delinquency with definite causations in academic maladjustment. Most important for school success in modern life, with the subordination of manual accomplishments and arts to facility with abstractions and symbols, is the ability to read well. This leads to the fact that reading disability brings in its train a host of failures and the consequent development

of unfortunate emotional attitudes, whether the disability be with the mechanics or with the comprehension of reading. Just now in a few centers in this country there is a lively awakening to the extreme importance of reading disability and the necessity of special remedial training. Its relationship to antisocial conduct can be readily understood. We have first-hand data in certain cases studied in our clinic.

A juvenile-court boy of eleven years appeared before us with a very usual story. He with his companions had been stealing to their own advantage, even breaking into a warehouse and taking bicycles, air rifles, and other articles tempting to young lads. Besides this, he was reported to us as being irritable and troublesome in school. He was being tried in the fifth grade but was doing so poorly that there was no hope of his passing. School achievement tests for us showed arithmetic was of a good quality for his grade, spelling, much below grade, and reading no better than third grade with a vocabulary of an eight-year level. In spite of being penalized so greatly for his lack of facility with language, he obtained an I Q of 106, he succeeded on as many tests of the fourteen-year level as he did on the ten-year group of tests, and, indeed, passed two of the sixteen-year tests. His powers of reasoning and generalization were distinctly superior. If his vocabulary and reading powers were even on a twelve-year basis, his intelligence quotient would have been ten points or more higher, and his I Q would have classified him as distinctly superior. The boy was keen enough to attempt substitution of words in passages which he attempted to read. This constituted a sort of cheating which we found spread occasionally to his performance on other tests. He assumed an unpleasantly bold and self-confident air by way of compensation for his disability and finally admitted boastfully that he frequently tried cheating. His attitude towards school found expression in distinct hatred. "All kids hate school." But before our interviews were finished, he dem-

onstrated that he really liked arithmetic, he showed evident pleasure in answering arithmetical questions and in rapid work with simple arithmetic problems. His rich phantasy life centered very extensively about the adventures of cowboys and of gangsters, acquaintance with which he derived from the movies. He told of daydreaming much about these movies when he was in school.

Here is a case where the development of a delinquent career is imminent, with every proof that one fundamental basis for it lies in school dissatisfaction because there has been no recognition of his special disability. Bright as he undoubtedly is, he is already retarded one grade in school and has reached the fifth grade without ever having received any aid for his main trouble. Is there any doubt that success of remedial efforts by the probation officer will depend mostly upon remedial education in the school?

We have known numerous instances where school people with a flair for constructive character and personality development have taken in hand some boy or girl who has already shown delinquent tendencies. And often the results have been marvelously good. Various techniques and adaptations have been utilized, too varied to enumerate. The common device of utilizing some little executive ability that the child has sometimes works well, as when a boy is made a monitor or an assistant or given special office work by the principal. The game is to give the child status and recognition as well as to occupy him in jobs that he can perform well. Or what can be done occasionally is illustrated by the case of a boy, seventeen years old, who had been engaged in very serious delinquency with companions. This boy was in high school but had an I.Q. of only 83 with, however, comparatively better capacities for arithmetical work, etc., that he was taking in the commercial course. On account of his companionship, his difficulty with keeping up with the class, and his ready satisfactions which he could obtain outside the schoolroom through his physical activity, we felt that he was a bad

prospect unless some one could give him much stimulation and personal help. The athletic coach took this case on as his own job and has made a wonderful success of it through utilizing the boy's athletic prowess, keeping him in line with teamwork and good sportsmanship, and inducing him to work harder at school subjects in order to retain his enviable position on the school teams. This is a case, of course, where a very special ability for other than curricular activities was taken advantage of by a man who showed fine spirit in wanting to save a boy.

In passing, one should think earnestly about school dissatisfactions as they are related to truancy because in the evolution of many delinquent and criminal careers truancy stands out as the earliest manifestation. Unwarranted absence from school has from the start an antisocial savor. The truant child feels himself a little criminal and by this same token appears to be very readily drawn into other forms of delinquency. This may not be so true of country truancy with the boys going on the proverbial fishing excursion. But certainly in the city, the truant, with unoccupied time on his hands and often joining with other truants, is prone to have uppermost in his mind the idea of other escapades or deviltries—raiding the five- and ten-cent store or market wagons or trucks. The prevalence of such beginnings makes a perfect truth of the adage "Truancy is the kindergarten of crime."

It thus comes about that one of the greatest possible preventives of the development of a criminal career is to be found in study of the causes of the earliest manifestations of truancy with attempt at remedy of the causes.

THE MATERIAL OF THOUGHT LIFE

With the upbuilding of good citizenship in mind, an oft-recurring question with us is what can the school be expected to offer the child. Can he be offered material that intrigues him to take over from the schoolroom mental interests that become part of his daily thought life? In other words, should the school make a profound attempt

to give the child something to live by? For the sake of our American civilization, we are deeply concerned about this matter because it is very evident that in homes poor from a cultural standpoint there is little or nothing given the child to dwell on with satisfaction, whether for consciously directed thinking or for phantasy life. The child is going to obtain mental food from somewhere and a vastly important question is whether he is to be persuasively offered it by the school. Those who think of the school teacher's job as confined to drilling the pupil in the necessary techniques of the three R's or to impart information on history and geography, all of which has so little to do with everyday living that the child takes no vital interest in it, forget that normal mental activity inevitably must find material for itself.

It is extremely seldom that our records of delinquents, which reveal so much of the inner world of childhood, show the slightest indication of any commanding interests based on material derived from the schoolroom. Fifty years ago this might not have been true, but at present the school is in deadly competition with the activities of the street, with the radio, movies, and the newspapers. And from all these other sources the child naturally seizes upon the crudely dramatic and the lurid, both usually unwholesome. A vast number of homes are totally unfitted and unequipped to offset this and the net result spells menace to good personality development and to our whole civilization. What part can or should the school play in forestalling the disasters of character development that through such weaknesses in the child's environment are constantly occurring and that are bound to occur?

An illustration of the meaningfulness of this whole matter of thought life is shown by the case of a ten-year-old boy who appeared in court for a number of delinquencies, including several times breaking into a schoolhouse with companions. We sized him up as being an attractive, alert child, intense, dynamic, rather aggressive, with an IQ

of 97 He was the child of immigrant parents who had not been well educated themselves, although in the family there were some scholars. The whole scheme of American life was a mystery to the father, he frankly stated that he had given up making any attempt to solve it. He wanted everything good for the boy, but when the child came rushing home with a description of some exciting news the father felt that the boy's interests were so remote from that of his parents that they just could not understand him or deal with him. His father commented very strongly on the fact that the boy gained none of his interests from school life, his mental curiosity was not in the least satisfied by what he learned at school. From the school itself we heard that the boy was good in content studies, ranking very high in geography, but that he had so much else on his mind that he did not accomplish much in his other subjects, and so he was scheduled to repeat the fourth grade. On his part, the father wanted to offer this boy lively mental interests and conceived the idea that since Americans seem to be largely educated through reading newspapers, he would afford him that opportunity. He regularly bought two papers a day for him.

From studying the boy's mental life ourselves we found that what he had absorbed from these newspapers was largely unwholesome. At this time the famous Gerald Chapman case was prominently played up in the headlines and long versions of it appeared in the columns. The boy was full of it and with his companions had organized a little gang who played what they called the "Chapman game." As a matter of fact, it was because the police followed one boy leading another whose hands were joined together with handcuffs that the hangout of this crowd was found and the "swag" discovered. The gang met there not only to enjoy the possession of their booty, but also to discuss the rights and wrongs of Chapman's swinging for his crimes.

It is most significant that this boy when removed to an-

other environment that offered him an entirely different type of mental content immediately became engrossed equally by it and ceased his delinquent conduct. A report the following year stated that his change in behavior was nothing short of miraculous.

This extraordinary instance gives very plain indication of what is going on with many children and our query is whether the school is playing the part it should. This boy with his imaginativeness, inquisitiveness, and overflow of energy, all of a very normal boyish sort, merely represents in somewhat more aggressive form what is frequently to be found. There are a great number of others who, even though expressing themselves in more passive ways, are receiving the content of their ideational life from equally undesirable sources which the school curriculum does little or nothing to offset or combat.

PHYSICAL HANDICAPS AS RELATED TO THE SCHOOL SITUATION

Even in the school systems where good physical examinations are undertaken and treatment instituted, any handicap is practically always considered merely in terms of academic performance. We find very little attention is paid to physical conditions as they may be related to personality difficulties which often loom large in the school situation and sometimes definitely tend to engender delinquent behavior. A host of cases might be cited in point, with great variations of the actual physical findings. In the limited space at our disposal, it seems necessary only to mention very few cases for the purpose of emphasizing the main generalization.

Handicaps that lead the pupil to be teased by his school-fellows create the outstanding situations that we have known to be related to delinquency. In a number of instances when a boy was cross-eyed he found the jeering of his comrades quite intolerable. Extremely difficult delinquent cases have been based on this. The child in his more protected environment before he went to school was

able to support himself without delinquent behavior, but after a year or more of trial in school life became extremely recalcitrant because he felt himself rejected by his fellows. One boy of particularly good physique became a most aggressive fighter against his teachers and others, and rapidly became a notorious delinquent. Another truanted as much as possible and, being of a quieter type, shunned all except a delinquent group in which he felt accepted. His career from a delinquency standpoint was very checkered until he was a young adolescent and an operation remedied his difficulties. Then, through other satisfactions being offered, he ceased his antisocial activities. Previously, the school could have had full cognizance of the significance of the main source of his difficulties, but did nothing to understand the whole picture and valuable years were lost, with no little expense to society.

The terrible social handicap of stuttering with its very plain relationship, in some cases, to the development of a delinquent career has repeatedly been dwelled on by a number of those working in this field and need not here be more than barely mentioned.

Much less well known are the variabilities in auditory powers caused by ear diseases. In one of the most marked cases of this that we have followed, expert opinion and careful observation proved that the difficulty lay in the fact that the boy's hearing powers were very considerably lessened at times by atmospheric dampness. The boy himself in his younger years hardly knew what was the matter with him. His teachers, not suspecting an ear disease because of his periods of normal hearing, attributed his troubles to character defects. His inadequacy to meet the school situation led, through the constant blaming of the boy, to an immense sense of inferiority and inadequacy that has followed him through to young adult life, where he still remains, through patterns of behavior long established, an individual easily succumbing to temptations towards delinquency.

The prescription of the school physician sometimes shows utter lack of comprehension of its implications for behavior tendencies. An extreme case of this is that of a boy who was brought to our Chicago clinic as being one of the most expert young burglars and "second-story operators" in the city. At about thirteen, found by the school doctor to have a heart lesion, he had been ruled out from attending his classes because he would have to climb two flights of stairs. The tragic joke of it was that he speedily found himself an adept in climbing fire escapes and getting over transoms. He became a nimble and quick-witted burglar—totally disregarding the physician's advice. As we saw him a couple of years later he had apparently not harmed his cardiac functions in the least by his lively criminal activities.

Being so small sized that it is impossible to compete satisfactorily with his schoolfellows on the playground, together with being given nicknames that cause a sense of inferiority, leads some boys to compensate by delinquent behavior which brings a sense of adequacy and success. Very small youngsters find themselves, as in *Oliver Twist*, quite deft in petty larcenies and at picking pockets. Some are quite proud of such compensatory achievements.

Just as real is the case of the immensely oversized boy who dislikes so terribly to associate with vastly smaller children of his own age group. Many times we have seen this as a factor with the boy seeking and finding satisfactions in adventuresome delinquencies.

What can be done about such matters? Is it not the place of the school, as part of our general social organization, to be as understanding and helpful as possible through realization of all that is implied in school maladjustments that are the result of physical conditions? The whole situation of the individual can be thought through in the light of natural urges for recognition, for satisfactory response, and the probability of compensatory behavior as related

to feelings of inferiority. Is it not within the province of principals, teachers, and school nurses to take cognizance of all this and to offer some specially adapted treatment?

INIMICAL SCHOOL COMPANIONSHIPS

Perhaps it might be thought that the school is not highly responsible for the influence of children upon each other, but, as we insist, the school is forcing such companionship. Prior to school age, intelligent parents generally know something of their child's companionships. When society to a considerable degree takes in charge the child's life, he is almost always thrown with others about whom the guardians of the child know little or nothing. Does not then the young life become very considerably a matter for oversight by the school people? If children are thrown together from widely different standards of culture and upbringing, should there not be great care to prevent harm being done? We could offer hundreds of cases in which delinquency contagion has been the result of school companionship, and in not a few cases the troubles have arisen within the area of immediate school contacts.

It may easily be imagined that most of this delinquent contagion is related to sex misconduct. We can omit the rare cases of other types of delinquent contagion to discuss unfortunate sex communications and sex experiences that take place in unsupervised playgrounds or toilets.

Of course it is very difficult for school people to know what is going on *sub rosa*, and it is not altogether clear to what extent responsibility can be taken for poor companionship formed in school life but which is carried beyond school bounds. But it is sometimes obvious that a considerable negligence has existed. One of the worst crowd situations that we ever unearthed involved children of both sexes from a very reputable school. They met in a club-room which they had themselves secured and which was the center for many stealing and sex activities. As we probed into the situation, it became plain that if the janitor had informed the headmaster, a very good man, of what

he knew about the delinquent trends of certain three or four leading spirits in this mess, the whole affair which persisted over a long time and involved many children could have been prevented. Thus, some primary responsibility lay clearly on the shoulders of the school management.

To picture what may or may not be accomplished in accordance with different attitudes taken by those in charge of schools, we might contrast two large high schools. In both of them there arose a most unfortunate wholesale sex situation as a result of long-standing contagion. In one case, a very intelligent boy with a deep conflict about the whole matter revealed to us what he claimed were the actual facts. The head of the school refused to make any inquiry when we informed him, stating that he disbelieved it, that the boy was a liar, and so on. It was only when the parents of the boy, to whom we reported, went, after a period of indecision, to the parents of other boys and girls, that the truth came to light. It was a small town and the principal received much public censure because it was shown that the school itself was the center of the sexual communications, and that this should have been easily discernible.

An entirely different attitude and procedure obtained in another school system where the whole school body immediately took responsibility for what was going on after they found out about it from us. With the aid of parents, new adjustments for the children, and much personal help, an equally bad case was quickly cleared up with no expulsions.

It seems certain that some school people, like some parents, do not want to face the difficulties of reality. Still others are willing to believe the facts but seem helpless or unwilling to accept any obligation in the matter. However, we know by experience that when there is willingness to face the truth, and there is some understanding of causations combined with good executive ability, the school organization is very well fitted to accomplish abidingly good results in even such difficult situations as we have mentioned.

EMOTIONAL LIFE OF THE CHILD AS RELATED TO SCHOOL
AND DELINQUENCY

There is every evidence that in some cases emotional hurts occurring in school life play an important part in developing delinquent trends. So far as delinquency is concerned, the reactive behavior may vary greatly in directness, occasionally it is very apparent. One boy with whom we have been struggling had an immensely strong feeling of having been unjustly treated by his school teachers. And this feeling on his part had been carried over to all authority outside the home. He maintained that after some truancy on his part, the teacher promised him that if he made good in a disciplinary school for a period of three months, he could return to his regular class in good standing. His record for this period was satisfactory and for some months afterward, but still no reinstatement occurred. He began to spread his grievances to his boy friends, some of whom felt they too had been betrayed by teachers. We discerned from several of them how a powerful antisocial attitude grew. Their immediate expression of this was in entering the school building at night and under our boy's leadership stealing the possessions of this particular teacher. It was revenge upon her for having been untruthful to him, the boy told us.

In tracing back the career of a very difficult lad, a boy who had been in an excessive amount of delinquency, we found the start in truancy began when the boy, who had very little ear or voice for music, was forced to sing in front of the class which ridiculed him, inside and outside the classroom. Circumstances—the family moved just after this—made it possible for him to be successfully truant for about a year. Does a teacher realize what she may be doing to a boy when she offers him up for ridicule that will not end, as she might well suppose, with the classroom exercises?

Or we might tell of another boy whose tremendous recalcitrancy owed its origin to the teacher's comment,

"What's the matter with your mother that you come to school smelling like this?" There was friction at home, the alcoholic father was verbally abusive to the mother and this boy took her part and was her favorite. The boy felt that she was having "a raw deal" and regarded the teacher's remark as immensely unfair criticism. The boy was in constant trouble in school and became delinquent outside until he grew older and was able to leave school and shift for himself, when, under guidance, he became an independent nondelinquent adolescent. While he was in school, we never were able to overcome his critical attitude towards teachers, which was based on this unfair criticism of his mother.

Teachers' dislikes and prejudices, which, after all, are only a projection upon the pupil of their own personality difficulties, play no inconsiderable part in determining children's behavior. Enough has been written on this subject to make it quite clear; it is so much the theme of the psychoanalysts that some of them express the belief that it is necessary for good management of the classroom that teachers have psychoanalytic insight into their own problems. (Barbara Low's *Psychoanalysis in Education* and Zachry's *Personality Adjustments of School Children* may be referred to for special material on this subject.)

A very subtle point concerning teachers' attitudes is brought out but not satisfactorily explained in its etiological significances in a notable chapter of Hartshorne and May's *Studies in Deceit*. Here it is unequivocally shown that cheating under some teachers is endemic, regularly occurring with different groups of pupils. Another point is that the overstressing of some values is destructive to the child. We can give in illustration the case of a boy who on account of his family's laxity was frequently tardy, so much was made of it that he reacted by truancy which led him into further delinquency.

Arbitrary discipline is experienced by children, naturally, with great dissatisfaction. It may be due to the fact that a teacher or a principal is pathologically intubable or high

tempered or has an inordinate desire for power, itself dependent on subtle facts, such as an underlying sense of inferiority. "I hate school; I hate school," said a boy of twelve to us who was on the verge of becoming an out-and-out delinquent unless something could be done for him. In working with this case we found that he was an extremely industrious lad who voluntarily spent his spare time in a warehouse where he was very highly regarded by a group of good fellows who were really giving him apprenticeship training. The fault, we found, was on the part of the school—an impatient teacher did not know how to build up constructively the boy's attitudes in favor of the school, the hot-tempered principal jerked him about and punished him.

In such cases it is the child's feeling of insecurity, of being rejected, and his need for recognition—all representing fundamental urges—that underlie the misbehavior.

Another group of problems due to emotional attitude we have seen arising from the *social* situation which pupils find in school. There are many variations here, too, but examples are to be seen in the several cases of high-school girls who have stolen in order to keep up appearances as good as the others of the group. This very evident matter of social competition and possible deep-lying feeling of social inferiority has in some schools been well taken care of through consideration of such matter as clothes and spending money by parent-teacher associations.

CONCLUSION

The school is a social agency that, perhaps unfortunately, does not have to sell itself. The law compels attendance of every child, and in the minds of many that is all there is to it. And some think that aiming at arousal of interests is soft pedagogy. How can you create character if you make school subjects easy, they ask, but the true psychology of human beings makes the matter appear the other way around. If genuinely interested, a child puts forth greater

effort and struggle. And is it not possible to make difficult tasks interesting enough to put the child on his mettle? Real interest in school work will ever be one of the greatest preventives of delinquency. Efforts made in some centers, as in Newark under the leadership of Plant and Robinson, to keep the child actively participating and to save him from unfortunate emotional attitudes through not having him feel himself a failure are bound to show results.

When it comes to the question of the school's obligations to consider the child's emotional life as part and parcel of the school program, we can hardly agree with Judd who seems to believe, as expressed in Embree's *Prospecting for Heaven*, that the emotional development of the child is not essentially the business of the school. We discern in delinquent behavior the building up of antisocial conduct upon bases of emotional maladjustments. The school is the one organization that has a chance to know these and to do something constructively to prevent disaster. The school where there is understanding, willingness, and good judgment can do much by itself. In severer cases it can work with organizations, whatever their name may be, that act in the capacity of a juvenile protective association. It should, wherever practicable, utilize a guidance center where children's problems are thoroughly studied.

The White House Conference papers contain some pungent statements bearing upon the relationship between school life and delinquency. The fundamental philosophy of the school as a social activity is considered; it is a regulation of society for introduction of a child into social living. Hence, the primary question should not always be, "What does the child learn in school?" but, rather, "How does the child feel because of school?" Finding out how a child is feeling because of school leads to ascertainment of how he may succeed in this important realm of socialized living. The school in all its drama of social duties and privileges has a greater significance than being a mere dispenser of academic education.

THE SCHOOL AND THE JUVENILE COURT WORK TOGETHER

MARJORIE BELL, *Field Secretary, National Probation
Association*

"Here's a second Hickman for you," announced the special school officer in vibrant tones, his emotion discharging itself in righteous indignation. He urged that a charge of attempted rape be filed immediately against the boy for an offense committed "in the woods hollow" back of the school. The victim of the attack, a child several years younger than the boy, had run home crying hysterically, and her mother had at once informed the school authorities.

The frightened boy who was shoved into the probation office hardly seemed to justify the epithet applied to him. He had a sensitive, intelligent face, but was small for his fifteen years, being still in knickers. Pending inquiry into the facts and motives involved in a situation evidently serious, the filing of so grave a charge was held up by the discriminating probation officer who received the complaint. The details of the story are too long to tell here, but certain aspects of it are pertinent. The boy proved to be entirely normal, well above the average in intelligence and social background. His father, a keen business man, had concentrated so much on money-making that he knew little of his son's inner world. Nor did the mother whose time was much given to social life. Constant association with older boys who dwelt on their sex experiences, real or imaginary, had stimulated this boy's curiosity. Though precocious intellectually, he was too immature to realize either the gravity of his act with its criminal implications or the injury to the other child involved. The circumstances of the episode, it was learned, were not wholly those of attack, the little girl having participated in the experiment until she became frightened.

A conference with the parents of both children took the place of the customary court hearing. The little girl did not appear at any time, effort being made by all concerned

to minimize the effect of the experience on her. The two fathers, unusual men it must be admitted, discussed without rancor the problem involved, the father of the boy readily agreeing that while succeeding in business he had failed his son at a vital point in the boy's development. These two fathers carried their interest beyond the immediate situation and left the probation office to lunch together and discuss the possibility of a sex-hygiene program in the public schools.

At a later hearing for further consideration of the boy's case the school board was represented. Unfortunately, hasty action had been taken by the school authorities on recommendation of the complaining officer and the boy had been summarily expelled. A transfer to another school was agreed upon with a period of informal supervision by the probation officer. As the parents of both children had awakened to their responsibility nothing further seemed called for in the particular case.

The investigation revealed, however, a little clique of sex experimenters in the school, a group situation calling for immediate attention. This was a school problem which could not be met by the expulsion of the boy who happened to be caught. What appeared to the arresting officer as the terrible sex crime of one perverted youth proved on inquiry to be something quite different. Without going too deeply into the local school situation as revealed in this case, we can clearly see questions of educational and social practice involving both the school and juvenile court—questions of jurisdiction, of integration of function, of practical working relationships.

If we could look forward as competently as we have learned to look backward in tracing the progress of the individual criminal, we could go into any schoolroom today and with little hesitation pick out the children who in a decade or so will inhabit our prisons and penitentiaries. We could choose them almost by rule of thumb, checking off as good prospects the habitual truants, the "incurables," the educational misfits. With a few hints from the

teacher concerning behavior we might even hazard a fair guess as to the form of each delinquency career. Here they are, already recognizable as troublesome problems, often aggravated ones.

We can get a "close-up" of many of these future inmates of our penal institutions by following them from the school into the juvenile court. Most children appearing in court are of school age, and most of them are already familiar trouble makers. Though the particular offense which is the occasion for the child's presence in court may not have occurred within the time and place jurisdiction of the school, it is almost invariably true that the boy or girl is already "an old case" to the teacher.

These children, not abnormal, not criminal types, not "born that way"—we have had to discard these convenient designations as psychologically untenable—these children are all simply *learning to be "bad,"* learning it in school as well as out of school, in the street, and even in the home. Sometimes we overlook the fact that learning is a continuous process, ceaselessly active, going on in some direction all the time with every child. It is all a part of the child's adjustment to his environment, his attempt to adapt himself to his circumstances to secure maximum satisfaction for himself. Viewed in this light delinquency is as truly the outcome of *natural processes of learning* as is the behavior which conforms to social requirements. It is simply the result of many factors operating in the child's life, to all of which he has reacted normally. Preventing delinquency, preventing crime, thus resolves itself into guiding the learning process, meeting the personality needs of the child as he grows. This view at once enlarges our concept of education and gives the school a responsibility which is a close second to that of the home.

But what, in fact, are the limits of school jurisdiction, or indeed of juvenile-court jurisdiction? Our ideas are changing so fast we can hardly keep up with them. The juvenile court began as a social agency, removing the delinquent child from the contaminating sphere of the adult

criminal court. Very soon its educational objective became apparent. Retraining, not punishment, was its avowed method of correction. The school is more recently becoming recognized as a social agency, even as a caseworking agency where it has visiting teachers. This is added to its academic function and is part of the enlarged interpretation of the place of the school in the community.

Do these two agencies, then, overlap in handling the delinquent child, or in preventing him from becoming delinquent? Is their approach to an identical goal sufficiently differentiated? Can we perhaps go all the way with the extremists who predict that the program of the juvenile court will ultimately be absorbed by the school? Here are problems of immediate practical import as well as of more remote theoretical significance.

The juvenile court after more than thirty years of development is still in an experimental period. Irregular in growth, uneven in standards, varying widely in function, method, and jurisdiction, the juvenile court remains in an empirical stage. Soundly conceived in the idea of the parental rather than the punitive attitude of the State towards its wayward children, it rapidly developed its caseworking function, following the path towards standardization already marked out in other fields of casework. Two diverging tendencies in the juvenile court early became evident and have continued to the present. First there was the impulse to make the court a child-caring agency in a broad way, absorbing in its widening scope both dependency and delinquency, and, in addition, protective and preventive functions—including, indeed, the entire field of child care and protection. Part of this spread was perhaps due to the fact that the juvenile court was organized in a pioneer period before casework in the children's field was clearly defined.

The other tendency is to restrict the case area of the juvenile court, to delegate preventive work and even treatment programs so far as possible to other organizations, public and private; to use the court as highly specialized

machinery, geared to adjust the more advanced and complex cases of delinquency. This restriction does not in any way diminish the importance of the juvenile court and its probation service—quite the contrary, as it makes possible more intensive work of higher standard, instead of an extensive program necessarily superficial because of inadequate staff and facilities.

As a social agency the juvenile court suffers from a structural handicap. It is and in its very constitution must remain a *court of law*, its child clients coming not of their own volition but by compulsion, for the most part because of some overt act which has necessitated such a course. No matter how we try to modify or to ignore this aspect of the court, no matter how completely socialized in viewpoint and methods the individual court may be, there still remains the framework of its legalistic origin. Decisions, judicial in character, must be constantly made, decisions with the authority and full force of the law behind the opinion of the judge. No other agency, public or private, can, for instance, commit a child to a correctional institution, or without the consent of his parents place him in a foster home. This judicial function could never be absorbed by the school unless the school were metamorphosed into a court with all the attendant prerogatives. We are increasingly apt to regard the court as purely a social agency, and on the administrative side progress can continue unchecked. But the goal can never actually be reached, because the very foundation of the court prohibits this. Perhaps we might logically emphasize this legal function and authority as a working asset rather than a handicap if the court field is sufficiently specialized.

The school as a social agency is unhampered by this inherent difficulty. Its approach to child training and retraining is more natural, more spontaneous. Constant contact with the growing child gives opportunity for observation, for understanding, that is possible to no other agency. As our concept of education expands and the school takes on enlarged functions in guiding the develop-

ment of the child's personality, we accept as a matter of course such additions to the school program as special classes, special schools with facilities for individual supervision, attendance departments with socialized approach to the question of truancy, visiting teachers and school counselors as social caseworkers with a foundation of teaching experience, and psychiatric clinics equipped for highly specialized analysis and treatment of particular cases.

How far the school can go in its handling of delinquency problems is not as yet determined. Some practical limitations are immediately evident. Vacation periods are an interruption to contact and to jurisdiction, some offenses occur which are quite unrelated to school life; some children no longer of school age are still within the age limit of the juvenile court; others are in private schools with standards of social responsibility far below that of the public schools. The absence of authority to make judicial decisions, previously mentioned, is another limitation, though an acceptable one as the school presumably should not be converted into a court. Cases calling for legal decision are clearly enough among those which should be referred to the juvenile court.

How can a sound practical relationship between the court and the school be achieved? What working policies have been tried by various communities cognizant of the need? How will the path of cooperation be marked out in the future?

If, in every community, the juvenile court and the school were equally progressive and well equipped, a policy plan would be relatively simple. But most frequently we find one considerably in advance of the other. They may be so far apart that they hardly speak the same language. An obligation then rests on the more enlightened agency to stimulate community interest in the needs of the other so that changes may be made.

Mutual understanding is a prerequisite for cooperation. All too frequently there is a kind of chronic irritation be-

tween the school and the court, sometimes flaring up into open antagonism and bitterness. Each is sharply critical, often without sufficient understanding of the point of view, the working equipment, or the difficulties of the other. The school people may complain that the court fails to back up their authority in attendance cases, fails even to enforce the law on this point. The court and probation staff may retaliate that the school is not attending to its own problems but falling back on the legal power of the court. A teacher, worn to exasperation in a case where she finds her authority challenged, may threaten a boy with commitment to the industrial school. If then the case comes into court and the judge simply places the boy on probation she feels that the child is not being punished sufficiently, that the court has failed to uphold her. She has been seeing the court as a disciplinary weapon for the school.

In this connection we might quote from a letter addressed by a progressive school superintendent to the principals in a large city:

The juvenile court is not an adjunct of the Board of Education in the matter of disciplining children who are school problems, and the court is unwilling to accept cases until the school has exhausted its own resources. It is the function of the juvenile court solely to decide upon the treatment of each case. Neither should court action be used as a threat.

Another school executive in a similar announcement to his staff says:

The basis of this relationship is the assumption that the responsibility for solution of all problems occurring within the jurisdiction of the school belongs to the school itself, and that so far as it has resources for study and for developing and applying remedial measures these resources should be exhausted before referring cases to outside agencies.

Surprising ignorance on the part of each group as to the aims and function of the other is often evident. Sometimes the school is completely ignored in a court case. Teacher and principal may even be unaware of the fact that the child has appeared in court. The probation officer has not sought information and assistance from the school in his

investigation, nor has he planned to work with the school if the child is placed on probation. This is, of course, evidence of very poor probation work, but it may also reflect a general lack of understanding on the part of the court staff of what the school is trying to do in delinquency cases. There are, however, situations in which the attitude of the school officers towards a delinquent child whose case comes into court is such that they cannot be included in plans for his rehabilitation.

In one city in which visiting-teacher service was limited to four schools, inquiry revealed that the members of the probation staff were not sure which schools these were. This discovery marked the beginning of a program of mutual education by informal conferences and luncheon meetings. A juvenile judge may be so reactionary that he interprets the work of the visiting teacher as just going through useless motions, and sentimentalizing when stern action is called for. On the other hand, the technique of the probation officer may be equally subject to misinterpretation by the teacher who has no patience with it. Every teacher should understand the fundamental principles underlying juvenile-court practice even though in her own community the court may not be a successful example of the theory. Similarly, every probation officer should have as background information some knowledge of what schools all over the country are doing to meet the needs of the unadjusted child, although the schools with which he has to work may have no social or psychological service.

Cooperative plans between school and court frequently emphasize truancy cases, since truancy is so frequently a symptom of beginning delinquency. We cannot, of course, safely assume that we have a homogeneous group in truancy cases, for they are as varied in nature and cause as any other examples of delinquent behavior. A child's parents often have an attitude towards education which may be the core of the difficulty (a situation where court action is most often necessary). There may be maladjustment in school, the child running away from a curriculum

which has nothing to offer him. Truancy may be complicated with other behavior problems in varying mixtures or it may be relatively simple in its impulse. Sometimes the inflexibility of the school attendance law with its arbitrary age limit is itself a factor. In fact, there are as many causes or combinations of causes for truancy as there are truant children.

In a Western city it is part of the daily routine of the probation officer to receive a report by telephone from the attendance department giving a list of aggravated cases of absence. He then simply puts on his hat and sets forth to remedy matters. There is no coordinated plan between the two agencies, no assurance of thorough social investigation by either one, and no consistent policy in regard to court action or follow-up. The result is an increasing dissatisfaction and disorganization. In another city, the school complains, and rightly, that the court has taken attendance cases out of their hands entirely after they come before the judge. The probation officer supervises all such cases, permitting no "interference" from the school. The situation is all the more unsatisfactory as the probation staff is inadequate for such a load. These uncoordinated plans, if they can be called such, result from lack of real cooperative effort, and are in direct contrast with the increasingly accepted doctrine of the basic responsibility of the school.

A policy which has worked well in one city is based on this principle. It is the plan of a man who has had administrative experience in both the school and the juvenile-court field. We quote his statement in brief.

When the school problem child is brought to the juvenile court, let the school present its case to the court. If the child is adjudged guilty let him be placed on probation just as at present, but on probation to the attendance department giving the latter full control of supervision and full responsibility for getting results. If the investigation is adequate (and no other should be accepted) and the plans of treatment and supervision show intelligence and sufficient intensiveness (and the judge should tolerate no other) then we have placed the responsibility for adjusting its own problems on the school.

where in my opinion it belongs. If the child must be returned to court despite the efforts of an efficient attendance and visiting-teacher department, then the court should cooperate by following the recommendations presented by the school.

In several cities, bureaus or departments have been created within the school system to deal with the problem from the inside and to cooperate with other agencies. In one city, where a visiting-teacher service is as yet something to be hoped for, such a child-welfare department was developed with a clear-cut procedure, following a conference with the probation department. The first responsibility for truancy or other delinquency is, in this plan, on the school which the child is attending, and investigation is the first step in adjustment. To quote the school bulletin:

Try as far as possible to remove the cause of the trouble. Truancy in its first stages needs corrective rather than punitive measures. Every teacher and principal should give careful attention to absences for it is in these early beginnings that truancy takes root.

Under this plan the case may later be referred to the child-welfare department where attempts will again be made to adjust it without court action. If it then becomes necessary to refer the case to the court, the action is initiated in this department which is also the instrument of contact with all other social agencies. Provision is made for active cooperation in cases of delinquency arising out of the jurisdiction of the school. To quote the bulletin again:

The court recognizes the school as one of the most vital factors in the life of the juvenile, therefore the court plans to consult the teachers in formulating a constructive program for the youth who makes an unfortunate mistake.

Another school system has a similar department. No principal is permitted to expel a child. Instead, the child is referred to this bureau which makes adjustment in many cases so that court action becomes unnecessary. One school system has a working agreement with the court in accordance with which the visiting teacher after making every effort to work out the situation without court action prepares a "court case report" which goes to the supervisor of visiting teachers. At this point there is a preliminary

conference between the supervisor, the visiting teacher, and the principal before the case is finally referred to the court. Even then it is first given an informal hearing before the chief probation officer.

An extension of the special-department idea is the council or conference which includes other agencies besides the school and the juvenile court, notably the police department. This takes us into the field of cooperation of all social forces in community work for the prevention of delinquency—a vital phase of the subject, but one which we cannot include in this discussion. Much can be done, however, in any community by united action in a program developing recreation or bettering social conditions so that indirectly at least the load of correctional work will be lightened. One such group in which the court and the school participated financed a recreational program in one of the schools during the evening hours, a program which was conspicuously effective in taking off the street in a bad neighborhood idle boys who had just passed the school-age limit.

Widespread interest in this subject of division of responsibility between school and court is reflected in the Committee on Relationships between the School and the Juvenile Court of the National Probation Association. This committee which is of national scope in its membership is made up of leaders in both the school and court fields. The National Education Association, the National Congress of Parents and Teachers, and the United States Commissioner of Education are represented. The committee is gathering and disseminating information among its members, and hopes to enlarge its work to include research studies in the field. A session of the annual conference of the National Probation Association in 1932 was devoted to the subject of school-court relationships.

With such extensive and critical interest in the checking of delinquency by the cooperative effort of the school and the juvenile court, we have an encouraging prospect before us. In such plans as we have sketched, two great forces

working together intelligently are following a new social trail. The old idea of education was a group idea, offering every child the same intellectual nourishment regardless of his ability to assimilate it and convert it to his use. Similarly, the old idea of justice for the delinquent—not wholly outmoded it must be confessed—was to treat all offenders alike, to prescribe measure for measure the same penalty for the same offense. The new concepts of education and of justice are based on a more rounded understanding of the individual. The new goal for each is the reverse of the old. True education and true justice both challenge us to see each child as a whole personality, to treat each child differently according to his needs.

THE MONTEFIORE SCHOOL, AN EXPERIMENT IN ADJUSTMENT

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Cases of hideous crime by youthful offenders have shocked the nation in recent months and have caused much discussion as to care of juvenile delinquents and ways of preventing delinquency. In all discussions truancy is cited as a cause or first step and the prevention of truancy an objective to be reached before delinquency can be prevented or overcome.

The Montefiore School in Chicago was opened four years ago for the study and treatment of boys who are unadjusted in regular schools, therefore truant and incorrigible and well started on the road to delinquency. Studies at this and the Moseley, a similar school opened three years ago, are demonstrating the fact that truancy is but a symptom of one or more underlying causes. The removal of these causes, giving the boy response, recognition, and most of all security, changes his attitudes and habits and makes him a regular school attendant.

The two schools serve about 200 elementary, junior-high, and parochial schools, their combined area covering two

thirds of the city. Boys are sent without court action upon the request of the principal with the approval of the district superintendent. The minimum time of stay is one year, unless the boy is graduated from the eighth grade in a shorter time.

The objectives set up for the school were physical and mental health, cleanliness of body, mind, and speech, courtesy, and the fundamentals of education.

Upon entrance a boy is placed in a receiving room where he remains for a week or ten days during which time he is given complete physical and psychological examinations and is observed by the teacher in charge of the room. As soon as possible he is placed with a group in which he seems to fit. The factors considered in this placement are: (1) age, (2) mental age, (3) intelligence quotient, (4) educational achievements, (5) mechanical aptitudes, (6) educational disabilities, (7) interest in drawing—free hand, (8) interest in mechanical drawing, (9) personality characteristics.

Also placement is discussed with the boy and his own suggestions are considered and frequently tried. The grading is very elastic for no hard or fast rule prevents a replacement whenever it seems advisable.

The principal of the school, Mr. Edward H. Stullken, distinguishes four types of problem boys. First, many of the boys may be classified as problem cases because of their mental retardation. Approximately one half of the pupils enrolled are unable to compete in the ordinary type of intellectual work required in a regular school. The median I Q for the school is 80, but since many pupils have language and reading disabilities, no doubt the per cent of intelligence would be somewhat higher if strictly nonverbal tests were employed. The average amount of retardation in school work is three years.

Second, many of the cases are boys whose mental abilities and educational achievements are very irregular. Their ability in reading is sometimes retarded three or four years while their mechanical ability may be accelerated as much or more. They have become problems in school because

of their uneven development. About 15 per cent of the boys belong to this group.

Third, nearly all of the boys present problems arising from their social surroundings. Many of these come from foreign homes. Polish, Italian, and Negro make up 60 per cent of all boys enrolled in the Montefiore School. Many of the social problems arise from broken home situations. Over 80 per cent of the boys come from homes classified by a social survey as poor or very poor. Many of them live under very poor conditions, residing in the so-called deteriorating areas of the city.

Fourth, many of the boys are problems because of their physical condition. The doctor's examinations revealed an average of more than four physical defects per boy and a dental survey showed that 93 per cent of the boys were in need of dental care.

The building is equipped with shops sufficient to care for the boys for approximately half their time, and the attention and enthusiasm with which they work makes a visit to the shops a real joy. If you are fortunate enough to enter the wood shop at the right time you may see many useful articles of furniture which the boys have made. They are so keen to take their products home that it is difficult to find finished articles in the shop. The combined electrical sheet metal shop is a place of great activity. The boys are so busy that they haven't time even to look up when visitors enter. Work in the mechanical-drawing room would do credit to any boy of the same age. In the weaving room boys lacking ability to do other shopwork make rugs and mats of various kinds, with the privilege of taking home every third article they make. The science room has become a place of tremendous interest to which the boys bring specimens of all kinds.

The library contains about a thousand books received from the public library and boys are given two or three periods a week for free reading. The individual interests of the boys are given special attention, hobbies are encouraged, and many projects are worked out. A "Book

Travel" project has resulted in a demand for fiction, geographies, histories, and many maps and pamphlets. The report of one boy on his reading shows a variety of interests "I have read *Three Pigs*, *Robinson Crusoe*, the Encyclopedia, and *Popular Mechanics*."

Music, dramatics, and art all contribute to the happiness and development of the boys. Many assemblies are held and are of distinct educational value.

The recreational period is most important. Until taught to do so the boys do not know how to cooperate in playing with others. They stand about, then when they are brought into the group are apt to cheat and be anything but good sports. A variety of games has been provided for indoor recreation and thanks to the depression and a talented teacher some very clever games have been made by the boys themselves. The names of the champions of chess, checkers, horseshoe, and other games are written on the blackboard interspersed with admonitions which the boys see constantly:

When you play a game always wish and try to win, otherwise your opponent will have no fun, but never wish to win so much that you cannot be happy without winning—Henry van Dyke

A good sport is one who does not cheat, does not quit, does not lose his temper though wronged.

A boy one day pointed to this last and said, "That's me." These quotations may seem to an adult to be of doubtful value, but have proved to have a real influence upon the boys in learning group action.

Since the boys are retarded from one to four years, much emphasis is placed on academic work on which they spend approximately half their time, all with one teacher. Every room is equipped with a file containing a folder for each boy in which is kept the written work from the time of entrance. By various devices the teacher makes it possible for the boy to watch his work and to see his improvement day by day by comparison with what he did when he came in. A reading table in each room gives the boys opportunity for free reading in odd moments.

Many boys have reading disabilities, and definite remedial work in reading is carried on by a teacher who worked with Dr. Marion Monroe, until recently with the Institute for Juvenile Research. The boys become keenly alive to their own reading defects and anxiously watch the results of tests given. The psychologist reports that at the conclusion of a test the boy asks anxiously, "How much gain have I made?" and, "When may I have another test?" When boys become interested in their own improvement the battle is half won.

A teacher for corrective speech comes twice a week and last year worked with 122 boys. Educators are coming to recognize more and more what a handicap defective speech is. It not only stands in the way of business success, but results in many personality difficulties. It was found that one Montefiore boy, with defective speech, was truant the day after he entered kindergarten.

Excursions are made to places of interest in the city, places for the most part never visited before by the boys. It is gratifying then to hear that after this first visit the boys often pilot their families and friends to the Field Museum, Art Institute, or parks and forest preserves.

Since the success of any school depends largely upon the principal and teachers, they are carefully selected for their understanding of boys and for their ability to cope with those who are considered problems. A writer in an educational magazine made this statement, "All teachers recognize the enormous variation in the intellectual ability of their pupils. All do not understand the emotional variations which accompany these intellectual variations." The teachers in the Montefiore School must and do take cognizance of these emotional variations in their handling of situations. The attitude of the teacher after a day in which there had been a violent emotional outbreak by a boy in her room illustrates this sympathetic understanding. When the principal said to her that he hoped she was not discouraged she replied, "Certainly not! I regard that as I would a poor lesson in geography. We didn't do very

well today. Let us hope that tomorrow we shall do better." It was interesting months later to hear the boy who had caused the trouble remark: "Do you remember how silly I was when I first came to this school?"

The third reason given for unadjustment was the home situation, 80 per cent coming from very poor homes. Last year an average of 150 boys were given luncheon daily, many eating their only meal at school. The present depression adds greatly to the difficulties of the school in trying to compensate for deficiencies in home and community.

Corrections of physical defects are begun as soon as the boy enters. A well-equipped dentist's office is maintained by the school for the dentist provided by the Board of Health. Two and one half visiting teachers do case-work for the school and obtain as many corrections as possible. Although physical handicaps cannot be considered as the entire cause of school unadjustment, results obtained from the boys at the Montefiore School indicate that correction of defects has much to do with restoration of mental and emotional stability.

The discovery of the irregular development of the boys shows the need of expert diagnosis and treatment. Edward, whose chronological age is 13 years, 11 months, has an arithmetic age of 10 years, 5 months, a social age of 15 years, and a mechanical age of 19 years. First grade in reading, fifth in arithmetic, tenth in social development, and an adult in mechanical ability—who could blame Edward for finding his school life in fifth grade unbearable?

The study of the lowest mental cases should be an important contribution to education. In the special room a new type of curriculum and material have been developed and will be available for use by teachers of special rooms and elementary grades. If Featherstone is correct when he says, "Most authorities agree that these persons are not a different type but rather variants in degree of one type which includes all persons of whatever mental capacity,"¹

¹William I. Featherstone, *The Curriculum of the Special Class* (New York: Teachers College, Columbia University, 1932).

this material will be very valuable, for all teachers have in their care children of low ability or slow development.

Are the objectives being attained? Some of the results seem to indicate that they are, partially at least.

In 1928 and 1929, 2,008 parental school petitions were received from the entire city. During 1929 and 1930, after the opening of the Montefiore School, this number was reduced to 754 petitions; in 1931-1932, only 520 cases were called to the attention of the juvenile court.

The attendance of these former truants last year, 1932, was 93 per cent compared with the city average of 94.7 per cent.

Previous to the opening of the Montefiore School there was a waiting list of from 100 to 200 boys to be taken to the juvenile court. There is now no waiting list.

Formerly a boy who violated his parole from the Parental School was out for weeks or months, usually on the street before he could be returned. There is now no waiting list of violators of parole from the Parental School.

All court work has been taken from the principals, teachers, and truant officers of the 200 schools contributing to the Montefiore and Moseley Schools. This means that time formerly spent by principals, teachers, and truant officers in preparing and serving papers and in appearing in court has been saved for preventive work with other pupils.

There were 1,374 boys saved from a court experience and 1,493 have been saved a Parental School experience.

There were 5,600 dental operations completed and 1,000 boys were given complete physical examinations.

There were 310 boys graduated from the eighth grades in these two schools. These boys have gone out into the world with a feeling of success rather than failure.

There were 152 boys sent back to the elementary schools; 133 boys made good; 19 had to be returned. This small number of failures seems to show that the school is really able to change the attitude of the boys and enable them to fit into regular schools.

Besides these definite measurable results, there are many

intangible improvements. The carriage of the body, change in personal appearance, in courtesy, in the attitude of the boys towards their teachers, their work, their school, their homes, and the happiness apparent to even a casual visitor are all evidences of the changes wrought. A few quotations from reports of teachers indicate the attitude towards their work of those nearest the problem. The science teacher says:

Changing ideals and character growth have been evidenced in various ways during the year, such as:

1. Ready acceptance of higher standards of work
2. Desire for special project problems
3. Practical application of health lessons
4. General cooperativeness
5. High percentage of attendance and punctuality
6. Pride in personal appearance
7. Desire to become happy contributing members of their group

As yet we cannot measure the permanent results of our work, but accepting the belief that a child comes into the science class, not only to learn facts and to develop a faculty for doing things, but primarily to establish the right relations to his environment, we note many evidences of his ability to live with people in a happier and more acceptable way.

The art teacher writes:

There has been a noticeable improvement in the art work done by the boys of the Montefiore Special School in the past two years. They are no longer satisfied with crude work but discriminate between good work and that which is not so good. They are eager to do things and now that they have discovered their ability to draw and model, they are anxious to carry out their own ideas.

Many of the boys spend their leisure time in working different art problems at home. They bring these to school and it is interesting to see how carefully the other pupils study this work giving praise and corrective criticism. They often ask to take home a piece of work that has been finished and that particularly appeals to their fancy.

The teacher of physical education shares a great responsibility in the character building of the Montefiore boys:

There are certain procedures in the actual playing of a game which need specific interpretations. Most boys want to do the right thing but they are hazy as to what constitutes the right thing to do. The beginning and end of a contest

are not athletics. Athletics, not for the sake of athletics alone, but athletics to develop the spirit of fair play, good sportsmanship, and the ability to take defeat gracefully and manfully, to realize that victory is not won by luck but by hard work, and that great victories are only won by those with clean, healthy minds and bodies. It has been found that an awakened play instinct is a very effective way of breaking up an inferiority complex. When a boy once finds that he can hold his own in competitive play, his confidence and self-reliance develop accordingly. The results will be reflected in all phases of his work.

It is most gratifying to the school to watch the progress of the boy, after a period of five months or more, who was once callous, bold, and hard to all criticisms, blush as he is called to task for some mistake which he should have overcome. At least we know the boy is conscious of what is right or wrong.

The outstanding accomplishment of Montefiore is the improvement in pupil conduct which is in evidence all about us. Our pupils have shown a marked improvement in scholarship, the attendance has grown better, but our outstanding achievement has been in character development. It is our greatest achievement.

The psychiatrist writes:

The normal spontaneous adjustment of the great majority of the children at Montefiore is evidence that the school as constituted effects the practical task of mental-hygiene treatment. Such spontaneous adjustment is a challenge not only to the system of the regular schools, but also the mental hygienists themselves who have been, perhaps, too much concerned about the individual, and certainly too little concerned with the defects in our system of living.

In years gone by boys of the Montefiore type would have been tolerated in school for a time and then expelled or sent to a reformatory. Some would have reformed but the large part returned to their homes and gangs would have been recidivists and have progressed step by step through a life of crime. If boys can have their habits and attitudes changed while returning to their homes at night and meeting their old friends, the change is much more apt to be permanent. The special schools, the Montefiore and Moseley, make no extravagant claims to success. Results obtained do seem to point the way for the prevention of delinquency by proper study and treatment of problem boys who are often merely boys with problems.

AN APPROACH TO THE PROBLEM OF JUVENILE DELINQUENCY THROUGH THE CASE- WORKER IN THE SCHOOL

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Dark as may be the picture presented by the statistics of crime, the newspaper reports of gangs utterly and successfully defiant of the law, the daring murders and kidnappings in recent times, to say nothing of exposures of political graft and large-scale swindling, we may still find a gleam of hope in certain other facts not so well advertised. We know, for example, that although thousands of homeless boys are wandering over the country, camping in small or large groups in the jungles, stealing rides on trains, or begging them from kindly automobile drivers, no one seems afraid of them; we hear almost no tales of crime or violence and very little of minor delinquency among them.¹ There is rather an economic and industrial problem

During the summer of 1932, Dr. J. B. Maller, of Columbia University, completed a survey of the records of the past thirty years of the Children's Court of New York City. He found that, in the face of the doubling of New York's population in that time, delinquents (known to the Court) among children of court age had decreased in number from 12.1 to 5.9 for every 1,000. This he attributes largely to the increase in number of social, religious, and recreational centers, an attempt to prevent rather than cure delinquent tendencies, better adjustment of foreign born to conditions in this country, and better understanding and treatment of the "bad boy." He does not specifically mention the schools in this list. And yet I venture to assert that the change in educational philosophy and method since 1900, with its emphasis on understanding the individual and adjusting the school to fit his needs, has had some effect—and will have far more as time goes on, and as effort is more consciously directed to this problem of prevention.

¹ "Boys on the Loose," *Surrey Graphic*, September 1932

Just what is a delinquent? Shall we say, briefly, that he is one whose behavior is openly defiant of social restriction? But why, one may ask, should any one choose to adopt a way of living which is so fraught with danger and discomfort?

The delinquent, whether he be the six-year-old who truants from kindergarten to wander the streets begging for pennies and stealing fruit from open stands, or the fifteen-year old who becomes involved in a sex escapade and cold-bloodedly murders the girl who shared it with him, is an individual who, trapped by his own discontent—by the fact that his urge to gratify his inner impulses is frustrated through the circumstances of his life—"rises forcibly against this frustration and goes into action." The biologists have no convincing answer to our question as to how specific a part heredity may play in determining the individual's choice of this way of meeting his problem. Even if they were able to help us to understand, that knowledge would be of little assistance to our knowing what to do about it. The sociologists have provided much valuable material on environmental influences and community organization for remedial work. But we must turn to the psychiatrists for help in understanding the mechanisms of personality development which give us some insight as to why certain individuals find that only by defiance of authority can they satisfy their inner needs. For the delinquent, like all the rest of us, is striving for satisfaction. He is trying to meet his immediate problem in the only way his education has taught him. Life is full of deprivations. The infant begins to meet them from the moment he enters the world. Early training is mostly concerned with control of native impulses, and upon the nature and degree of this control is built the type of reaction to similar situations which makes the total personality. In process of growing up, the normal individual learns to meet these situations by adopting some purposeful constructive activity which is in itself satisfying and which he hopes will lead to a desirable end. But the delinquent has never learned the lesson of deferring his gratifications.

He avoids coming to grips with the immediately unpleasant by accepting a substitute without consideration of the price to be paid. His early experiences have failed to give him two elements essential to adequate character formation—a disciplined will, and a pattern of behavior based upon sound ideals. He lies, steals, runs away, joins a gang, hates the one who has the things he desires and injures him or even sometimes kills him. Only through new emotional experiences can his personality be changed.

An approach to "character education" which is slowly making its way into the schools, fostered by the spread of mental-hygiene principles, is well expressed in the opening chapters of the *Character Education Year Book*, published in February 1932, by the Department of Superintendence of the National Education Association. The emphasis is upon understanding rather than punishment, upon providing situations in the school set-up which will give an opportunity for satisfying experiences in fair play, consideration for others, yielding the gratification of immediate personal wishes to participation in plans for the well-being of the group. Leadership depends upon the teacher, but self-approval becomes gradually and consistently more desirable than approval from others.

In many schools in the country there is evidenced a recognition of the need of supplementing the classroom relationship of teacher and pupil by the appointment of a specially trained person, the visiting teacher, to whom may be referred for study and treatment pupils so seriously unadjusted that the usual classroom procedure does not help them. Prevention of delinquency is not the specific reason for employing a visiting teacher. The causes of delinquency are too varied and individual to supply factual support for this as an argument. No one can say that the boy who is retarded in reading because of some physical or emotional reason will eventually run away from his unhappy situation, and as a truant, defiant of the law, join a gang, break windows, steal, or whatnot—but we do know that it is on such a foundation that delinquency is often built. We know that in a study in 1928 of 251

adolescents over a period of six to eight years after their release from the truant school in New York City, 51 per cent had a later court record of delinquency, misdemeanor, or felony. The crime commission in this report recommends the establishment within the school system of clinics for study of children presenting behavior problems and revision of school curriculum to meet the needs of children of "defective mentality or emotional instability," and gives figures to substantiate their contention that the expense of this "individual method," great as it is, is less than the cost of crime to society per individual. But truancy per se cannot be treated. Only its causes may be removed by improving educational attitudes and methods and by applying the case method to those who fail to respond to that general treatment.

We may take as an illustration the case of a fourteen-year-old boy in the first year of junior high school, whose dissatisfaction with his life is manifested, not by truancy, but by stealing.

Frank was courteous and well conformed, liked by his teachers and his classmates, but he was uninterested in his lessons and at the end of the school year was failing in practically all subjects. At the same time, a critical episode arose in the schoolroom. Money was missing from the teacher's purse, and suspicion pointed to Frank. Once before during the term he was caught taking the bell from another boy's bicycle. His father was sent for—but no persuasion or show of authority could make Frank confess. The school counselor (the visiting teacher under another title) was called upon to help. Individual interviews with Frank and his father revealed some interesting facts, hitherto unknown to the school. Frank was the second of three children. The mother was never well after the birth of the third child and died when Frank was six years old. During her illness she was fretful with the children and at the same time over anxious. Elizabeth was in school, and Billy a baby, and it was on Frank that the burden of her irritability fell. Sent on errands to the neighboring store, he used pennies to buy candy and things he wanted. When this was discovered he was punished and prayed over in turn. After the mother's death the father's widowed sister and her six-year-old girl came to live with them. Comparisons were constantly made—always to Frank's disadvantage. Frank learned early that outward conformity left him free to pursue his own

way At the age of ten he had a perfect attendance record at Sunday School, and was truant for six weeks from elementary school, spending the time with two other boys in a hut they had built on a vacant field, lunching on fruit and candy stolen from grocery stores in the vicinity When discovered Frank was full of repentance and promised to do better The episode was forgotten and never reported to the junior high school At the beginning of Frank's first year in the latter school, different home arrangements had been made The aunt and her child had moved away, and Elizabeth, now in the 9A grade, shared the housekeeping with her father Frank was now free of the nagging disagreeable aunt, but the discipline of a conscientious but often absent father was left largely in the hands of the older sister whose only weapon was talebearing.

The counselor's first move was to arrange for a psychological examination Frank was found to have an intelligence quotient of 130 and the principal agreed that if the boy would attend the summer school and do good work he would advance him a grade, instead of making him repeat the term, as he would naturally have done because of his failure The father, eager for help and with a real love for the boy, accepted the counselor's suggestion of recognizing his need for independence, gave him a small allowance, let him take a Saturday job, arranged that he, rather than Elizabeth, should supervise him in home duties, and spent more time in companionship with him For the first time Frank had the experience of being accepted and trusted, of knowing accord between his inner feeling and his outward conformity. No issue was made of his confessing to the theft of which he was accused—stealing money from the teacher's purse. Whether he was innocent or guilty, he derived no satisfaction from feeling that he had fooled the principal on the one hand, or had been unjustly considered guilty on the other. What advantage there may have been, in that situation, lay in the hands of the school authorities who did not commit themselves. To a boy of Frank's type, this was an important factor in increasing his respect for them. There were hard times He needed help and assurance—but a sympathetic teacher and a counselor always ready to listen made it possible for him to build up slowly a self-esteem which aided his naturally fine intelligence so that he made good progress in school and when last heard from was a successful member of the graduating class in senior high school

Learning to take the full responsibility for one's acts is one of the essential lessons in growing up That Frank had been as conforming as he had, meant really only an evasion of this responsibility. Until his experience had brought him satisfaction in his relationships with the counselor and with

his father, he had nothing constructive to build upon. In order to learn to trust others, he must first be trusted. The counselor's respect for his personality and confidence in his desire and ability to make good gave him a sense of security in relation to adults, hitherto unknown to him. But she recognized his need to feel this also in his family situation, and directed her effort to developing and maintaining a real understanding between him and his father.

The case of Charles offers quite a different picture of the behavior reaction of a child to an unsatisfied emotional need. A disciplined will is not a conscious quality purposefully developed by the individual in himself or through the admonition of others, as the old morality would have had us believe, but a growth through experience of satisfaction in self-control rather than in that imposed from outside. It develops step by step with the child's training in direct relation to the emotional meaning of that training.

Charles, eleven years old, was referred to the school counselor because he was failing in school work, was constantly disorderly and disobedient in the classroom, and had run away from home with two very undesirable older boys, staying away several days. Charles was the youngest of nine children, five of whom were married and away from home. The father, aged 57, was alcoholic and sometimes violent. He was reported as indifferent about the children, but jealous regarding the mother's attention to them and suspicious of her. The mother was efficient and energetic, a good housekeeper, and extremely religious. Whipping and shaming were the methods of discipline applied in the home. During the first seven years of his life Charles had been constantly sick—whooping cough, mumps, boils, typhoid fever, influenza, and scarlet fever, all severe cases, followed each other in rapid succession. Even if the intelligence of the parents and the home conditions had made it possible, there was little opportunity for adequate training of a child so handicapped by illness. Accustomed from infancy to being the chief object of his mother's concern, he was quick tempered, nervous, easily excited, and disobedient and when disciplined fearful and sullen. His behavior took the very primitive form of getting satisfaction by petty revenge on the person who deprived him of having his own way in the gratification of any impulse. Although of average intelligence he was a year retarded in school. He was rather effeminate in appearance, was teased by other children, inclined to use his poor health as an alibi, but fond of bragging of how strong he was.

The counselor's introduction to Charles was immediately following his runaway. He knew that she had had a long talk with his mother and the principal and was naturally suspicious of her interest. Here was just another person who was going to make him over. Before anything else could be done it was necessary to win his liking and confidence. This she quickly succeeded in doing by avoiding talking of the unpleasant subject, concentrating instead on Boy Scouts of which he was already a member, and agreeing to talk over with his mother the question of making a suit from an old one of his sister's. Charles's discontent came out clearly in this interview—the Boy Scout troop was "too rough," his Sunday School teacher was "too crabby," he didn't like school "because there is too much work." He showed decided emotional reaction over his sisters, who, he said, "hit me all the time, and call me sissy if I don't do what they tell me." Charles quickly took on the counselor in whom he found a completely new experience—a person who represented a benevolent authority which made no demands for emotional response from him, and offered him no protection from the punishment which inevitably followed from his misbehavior in school. He formed the habit of coming in almost daily—for help in arithmetic—to talk about the Big Brothers Club, and the new bicycle, and his swimming lessons. New associations were formed with boys from other neighborhoods. A new ideal of manhood as represented in the leader of the club replaced the unsatisfying one of the father. Moved by the desire to win the approval of the leader and the counselor, Charles began slowly to develop some little self-restraint. He even went voluntarily to the dentist, his school work improved, his mother and sisters commented on the change.

Contact with Charles lasted for almost two years. It was troubling to see how he changed with each change of teachers. Where there was patience and firmness and a willingness to give attention and praise, he did well, but towards the exacting teacher he always responded with the feeling that he was especially "picked on" and took his revenge in coming late and dirty to school, tripping and striking children or making faces to win attention. During the one term where this happened most conspicuously, he also went back to smoking cigarettes and staying out very late at night. It took him a long time to learn that the only way to avoid unpleasant consequences was to accept social restrictions and make the best of it. Perhaps that was inevitable, under the physical and emotional handicaps of his early training. The gradual progress in self-control, in building an ideal for himself, was nevertheless a real growth and shows what may be done, if conditions make consistency possible. The counselor had to bear the burden of the mother's anxiety, of the teacher's impatience, and

of Charles's resentment of discipline. Her patience and interest in him had to be unflagging, but her firmness in refusing to protect him from the consequences of his behavior had to be equally so.

These cases have been deliberately chosen as illustrative of the emotional reeducation made possible in the school by the relationship of the counselor to teacher, parent, and, most important of all, to the child himself. Such treatment should have the active cooperation of all three. The teacher's responsibility for the whole group and for bringing the individual into adjustment with it makes it unwise if not impossible to single out one child for such an intensive special relationship. Even the counselor must beware of creating too personal a bond for fear that it may become dependency. Movement and growth will come only from the development of an inner discipline.

The caseworker in the school finds it necessary to depend upon many resources outside as well as within the school

In a neighborhood of almost entirely foreign-speaking population of day laborers, where there was no recreation center or settlement within a radius of many squares, where vacant lots and empty freight cars were the only possible play places, the caseworker felt blocked in doing constructive work with individual children until she had been able to persuade a playground association to supply afternoon and evening recreational equipment and leadership, while the Board of Public Education furnished the rooms as well as heat, light, and janitor service. Along with this came parents' meetings with interpreters, afternoon classes in English, and gradual community understanding and confidence in the school. Teachers and principal participated in parties which featured the national customs of the guests and so was developed a community spirit in which the case worker found concrete assistance.

In conclusion I should like to submit the following more or less dogmatic suggestions.

1. The school's function should be much more one of prevention than of remedy.

2. The atmosphere of the school and its curriculum may work towards this through providing purposeful activity suitable to the intellectual and emotional development of pupils, and a pleasant workmanlike participation of teacher and pupil in projects of common interest.

3. Understanding of and consideration for each pupil's stage of physical, intellectual, and emotional maturity should be a part of each teacher's professional task.

4. In the discipline of the school, the necessary punishment of offenses should be directed by understanding of the meaning of the unsatisfactory behavior to the individual, and accompanied by an effort to supply more satisfying experiences.

5. Classroom teacher and visiting teacher should share equally though in different terms the responsibility for reeducation of unadjusted children.

a) The classroom teacher's functions are to recognize constant uneasiness and discontent as symptoms of emotional tension which call for special study and to provide activities and satisfactions within the classroom, as a necessary supplement to effective treatment.

b) The visiting teacher on the basis of her interpretation of the situation as she finds it should offer to parent or teacher helpful suggestions and at the same time establish a relationship with the pupil which will make possible the acceptance of new standards of behavior and a new respect for himself.

IS AN INDEX TO THE JOURNAL ESSENTIAL TO YOU?

It has occurred to the editors of *THE JOURNAL* that, since its issues are all indexed in the Wilson Education Index and in Public Affairs Information Service, the index for this year, usually distributed with the May issue, might be dropped. The chief motive would be economy. We know, however, that neither of the Indexes mentioned may be available to our many library subscribers. We do not want to lessen efficiency in any way. Will you please let us know what you think about it?

The Editors

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JUVENILE DELINQUENCY AND CRIME PREVENTION

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The growing seriousness of the crime problem in the United States has focused the attention of the educated public from time to time upon the possibility of a more fundamental and more systematic attack upon the underlying causes of crime than has yet been attempted, and these later formulations of the problem of crime prevention and of basic crime-prevention programs are closely related to the whole problem of dealing with juvenile delinquency.

The groundwork for this type of attack has now been prepared through the acquisition of important knowledge as to the origins of crime made available through recent scientific studies:¹ first, that the origins of criminal careers are to be found in the social reactions of childhood and adolescence, and second, that the concentration of delinquents and criminals is to be found in typical, interstitial areas which are the characteristic breeding places of gangs, delinquency, and crime.²

These two outstanding generalizations, based as they are upon well-authenticated facts, clearly indicate the point of attack for a major crime-prevention program, namely, the behavior problems of childhood and adolescence and the malfunctioning of social institutions in the crime-producing areas. How may a practicable program of crime prevention which strikes in a basic way at underlying causes be formulated?

The problem is primarily one of dealing with social influences affecting predelinquents or potential delinquents in these areas of deterioration in such a way as to assure the development of wholesome personality and good citi-

¹See bibliography at end of Thrasher's, *The Gang*, fourth printing (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press 1933) under the captions "Sociology of the Gang," "Materials for the Study of the Gang," "Ecology of the Gang," "Gang and Delinquency," and "Treatment of the Gang and Its Members"—especially titles by Shaw, Crime Commission of the State of New York, Farrell, Illinois Crime Survey, Landeslo, Glueck, Thomas, National Commission on Law Observance and Enforcement, Lawes, Shulman, and Thrasher.

²Both these generalizations are well illustrated by the findings presented in Thrasher's *The Gang*.

zenship. It involves many factors and many techniques, but the fundamental problem is one of synthesis of all methods which are known to be essential so as to deal consistently and completely with the total situation in a given delinquency area. This involves an inescapable program of social planning which is clearly suggested by any careful sociological study.

Yet, criminologists, persons with legal training, educators, and recreational and social workers in general have failed to grasp the fundamental principle of crime prevention; viz., the necessity for a definitely organized and thoroughgoing preventive program in the local community from which the bulk of delinquents and criminals are produced. Apparently they have possessed in general neither the technical knowledge nor the inclination to enable them to promote the concentration of local responsibility, the cooperation of local agencies, and the integration of local services which are essential to such a program.

The gang is clearly a symptom of community disorganization.³ The gang, along with other personal and social factors in the interstitial (crime-producing) area, plays an important part in the demoralization of youth and the facilitation of delinquency and crime. The solution of the gang problem, however, is intimately and inextricably bound up with the whole question of crime prevention as applied to all factors contributing to delinquency in such an area.

From our own analysis of the gang and of juvenile delinquency in relation to crime in *The Gang*, as well as upon the basis of the results of more recent studies by the author and by Shaw, Landesco, Shulman, Glueck, and others, the essential elements of a crime-prevention program for a local community appear to be as follows.

I The general purpose to achieve a comprehensive, systematic, and integrated social program for the incorporation of *all* children in the delinquency area, especially *all* the mal-adjusted and those likely to become delinquents, into activities, groups, and organizations providing for their leisure-time interests as well as all other normal needs.

³See also Thrasher, "The Gang as a Symptom of Community Disorganization," *Journal of Applied Sociology*, XI (1926), pp. 3-21, and John Landesco, "Crime and the Failure of Institutions in Chicago's Immigrant Areas," *Journal of Criminal Law and Criminology*, XXIII, (1932), pp. 238-248.

II. Means to the achievement of this purpose

1. Concentration of responsibility for crime prevention for the local delinquency area in question (a problem of community organization)

2. Research to procure essential facts and keep them up-to-date as a basis for an initial and a progressively developing crime-prevention program

3. Utilization of services of and cooperation among all preventive agencies existing in the given community (a problem of community organization)

4. Application of the preventive program *systematically* to all children in the delinquency area of the local community

5. Creation of new agencies, if necessary, to supplement existing social organization when and at what points definite needs are discovered which cannot be met by existing facilities (a problem of community organization)

The nature of the program indicated in the above statement of the purpose of crime prevention (I) seems at first glance to contain no elements of novelty. And indeed its subsidiary techniques are the well-known services of the behavior and guidance clinic, the family caseworking agency, the recreational organization, the educational institution, etc. Yet such a program represents a radical departure from the methods of social work and community organization as now conceived. The elements of novelty, as contemplated here, which hold real promise of effective crime prevention, lie in the direction of *community reorganization* (based upon research), rather than the proposal primarily of new methods of dealing with children either individually or in groups. The new approach is indicated in the five methods of procedure set forth above as means to the achievement of the general purpose of crime prevention. Curiously enough not one of the elements in this five-point program has been put into effective operation in a crime-producing area, except in certain exceptional instances to be noted below.

The cardinal first step in crime prevention is concentration of responsibility for a definite and systematic program in a definite and adequate social instrumentality which will be charged with crime prevention as its sole function. It is obvious that no traditional social agency as now constituted is fitted for such a task. Yet it is equally clear that many existing social agencies must play important parts

in carrying out such a program. The instrumentality, therefore, which assumes this vital community function must be one which lends itself readily to securing the cooperation of all community institutions and organizations.

It has been suggested⁴ that the local council of social agencies serving the delinquency area for which the crime-prevention program is being formulated should logically assume this responsibility since such a council is representative of most of the agencies which must cooperate in putting such a program into practical operation. This could be accomplished through the creation of a committee or section of the council which would employ a qualified executive with a small but capable staff for performing the essential crime-prevention functions.

The following brief outline of a crime-prevention program for a local council of social agencies, based upon an actual community study, may be presented as an example:⁵

- I Proposed organization of a citizenship section of the X Council of Social Agencies
 1. To be known as citizenship section, emphasizing only positive aspects of the work and avoiding use of words "crime prevention"
 2. To be composed of representatives of various social agencies whose cooperation is essential to success of the program
 3. Small active executive committee to be chosen from the section
 4. Selection of qualified executive and adequate staff
- II. Extent and location of such a program
 1. Program to concentrate on definite area or areas characterized by high delinquency rates
 2. First steps to be considered exploratory and experimental
- III Functions of citizenship program
 1. Research function
 - a) What data are necessary?
 - (1) Basic census data on all families in every block in area in question
 - (2) Recreational and other contacts of children

⁴Crime Commission of New York State, *Crime and the Community: A Study of Trends in Crime Prevention* (New York: J. B. Lyon Company, 1930).

⁵As a result of the author's studies of delinquency in a local area in New York City, he prepared such a crime-prevention program at the request of the local Council of Social Agencies. This was presented to the Council in the spring of 1931 but could not be developed at that time chiefly because of lack of funds for even a modest financing. During 1932, however, the crime prevention program for this Council was again taken up by Harry M. Shulman, formerly research director of the New York State Crime Commission in an effort to develop a practical community program.

- (3) Data basic to detection of potential delinquents—from interviews and records of schools, social agencies, police courts, etc.
- (4) Data on all demoralizing influences in area
- b) How can such data be collected?
 - (1) Family data on all cases contributed by all social agencies (including schools) working in area
 - (2) Securing complete list of families with agency contacts from Social-Service Exchange
 - (3) House-to-house canvass to obtain data on families not represented by above
 - (4) Contribution of all data by social agencies where a crime-prevention problem is indicated
 - (5) Contribution by agencies of data on community resources and demoralizing influences
 - (6) Special investigations by staff
- 2. Function of clearance and exchange
 - a) Maintenance of continuing file of basic census data on each social block, indicating removals of old families and new data on incoming families
 - b) Case file for each block containing detailed histories of families likely to produce delinquents and of critical cases being given special attention or care by staff
 - c) Continuing file on all demoralizing influences—persons, groups, and institutions
- 3. The function of integrated services
 - a) Concentration upon children and young people, singly or in groups (such as gangs), found not to be reached or not effectively incorporated into existing wholesome social structures
 - (1) Children in school who have problems outside of school hours
 - (2) Children not in school and unemployed, or children employed who have special adjustment problems
 - b) Integration of services of varied social agencies to meet individual needs of individual problem children or groups of children in which delinquency develops (such as gangs), the program for each case to be fitted to the needs of that case
 - c) In cases of failure by one agency or set of agencies, a new alignment of services and a new plan
- 4. The casework function
 - Mobilization of casework agencies for specialized and difficult cases
- 5. The function of promoting new or supplementary services or agencies to deal with problems which cannot be handled by existing facilities

It is not at all certain that an agency representative of the local council of social agencies (within which local jeal-

ousies may be disruptive) is the best or only instrumentality for concentrating responsibility for crime prevention in a local community. An effective program of crime prevention, although limited in its scope, has been developed by the Bureau of Crime Prevention of the New York City Police Department. Under the leadership of Deputy Police Commissioner Henrietta Additon, a social worker of distinction, the Bureau has developed its work to high standards of excellence and has secured the active cooperation of practically all the preventive agencies of the community whose services it must use.

The Police Department's records of arrests of juveniles show 7,114 in 1930 and 6,322 in 1931, a decrease of 792 or 11 per cent in the two years of the Crime Prevention Bureau's service.

Its object is to cut off crime and suppress vice at their sources through the prevention of juvenile delinquency. This is accomplished through specially trained officers, men and women, who study environmental factors in the various neighborhoods of the city, and become personally acquainted with the boys and girls in those neighborhoods and their special needs. The Bureau works with all the agencies and clubs in the city who deal with boys and girls under 21 years of age, and with other welfare and health societies which are in a position to help in family adjustments and provide medical care. A large recreational program has been developed to furnish proper leisure-time occupation.⁶

In some communities the local council of social agencies may not be in a position to take the initiative in organizing a crime-prevention program or financing it. In others, no effective local council may exist. In such cases it is quite reasonable to suppose that any agency which has a fundamental stake in crime prevention, such as a recreational group, the public school, the juvenile court, or the police department, or a committee representing a combination of such agencies may take the initiative in developing a crime-prevention program in which the cooperation of all essential agencies can be enlisted. It has been suggested⁷ that the so-called "probation" committees, composed of volunteers working under the guidance of county probation officers in Illinois, might well be used as "crime-prevention

⁶"Crime Prevention in New York City," *Social Hygiene News*, VII (1932), p. 2.

⁷Maude G. Palmer, "Needed: Crime Prevention Committees," *Welfare Bulletin* (Illinois Department of Public Welfare), August 1932, p. 5.

committees." A Crime Prevention Committee, composed of officers of the Richmond Recreation Association, the judge of the juvenile court, and two assistant school superintendents, has functioned in the development of a crime-prevention program for that city. A committee of the National Probation Association⁸ is devoting itself to a study of the relations between the schools and the juvenile court with the possibility of developing a more adequate program of crime prevention under the joint leadership of these agencies. The public-school system in any community in the interest of the adequate performance of its own educational functions is in an especially strategic position to undertake, without fear or favor, the development of a crime-prevention program which shall enlist the interest and cooperation of all the social agencies of the community.⁹

We have discussed the first element in the five-point program of crime prevention; namely, the concentration of responsibility for the function of crime prevention. The second point is no less important: that the program must be based upon social research rather than the superficial type of survey often employed by social agencies. No adequate program can be formulated or carried on without definite knowledge of facts regarding the children of the area and their problems and the social influences which play upon them. With few exceptions¹⁰ social agencies do not know the communities to which they minister with any degree of thoroughness, and unfortunately they do not ordinarily keep their records in such a way as to enable them to evaluate their own work effectively. They know their own methods, but they are inclined to be "institutionally minded" and they find difficulty in visualizing the community and its problems as a whole and their own proper functions in the larger situation.¹¹

⁸Under the chairmanship of Dean Justin Miller of the Law School of Duke University. See the article by Marjorie Bell in this issue.

⁹As yet school authorities have not sensed the problem in any broad or comprehensive way.

¹⁰The Bowling Green Settlement of Lower Manhattan, New York City (now discontinued because of shifting population), presents a striking exception. This institution maintained a remarkable research department which was in possession of up-to-date data on all families in its area and on its relations to them at any given moment.

¹¹See Frederic M. Thrasher, "The Boys' Club Study of New York University" and other articles in special issue of *The Journal of Educational Sociology*, September 1932, dealing with the problem of social research as related to the evaluation of the work of institutions.

The social agencies often know certain phases of their community backgrounds very intimately and separate agencies see one problem or another very vividly. The point is, however, that there is no synthesis of essential knowledge without genuine research and that there can be no adequate basis for a thoroughgoing crime-prevention program without knowledge which is systematic, organized, and complete. This is particularly pertinent in dealing with the problem of delinquency, because it is just the child who is missed by the methods of the ordinary leisure-time program, or who drops out of the wholesome group or institution, or who is shunted from one agency to another without any consistent plan for his adjustment or attempt at follow-up who so often is the predelinquent or the candidate for a criminal career.

In one area of the Lower West Side of Manhattan in New York City, recreational workers connected with Greenwich House, a social settlement noted for its innovations in dealing with young people, came to believe that the "tough" boys were not utilizing the facilities of the settlement. This was corroborated by an important piece of research into the social changes of the area, which was under way at the time.¹² As a result, during 1931 and 1932 there was formulated and put into operation a block-recreation plan whose basic purpose was to develop wholesome spare-time activities in every block under adequate leadership by means of the establishment of block clubrooms and associated activities.¹³ This project as it has grown has developed records on all families in each of the blocks where clubrooms have been established. The program is designed to reach the potential delinquents in each block in a systematic way and is in effect a crime-prevention program, although it does not include all the essential points enumerated above. It necessarily depends, however, for its ultimate success upon data provided by continuing and systematic social research.

The third point in the crime-prevention program involves the integration of services of all appropriate agencies with reference to each individual case involving a child, a family, or a gang, and with reference controlling every demoralizing influence in the local community. This is well exemplified in the work of the Crime Prevention Bureau of New York city, which utilizes every resource of

¹²Under the direction of Dr. Caroline Warr.

¹³This project was sponsored by the Council of Lower West Side Social Agencies, of which the author is chairman, through its recreation committee.

the community in preparing and carrying out its plan to meet the requirements of each individual case

The fourth point involves the application of the preventive program *systematically* to *all* children in the delinquency area of the local community. At the present writing no crime-prevention agency has been able to carry out this procedure. Yet it is an essential element in any program of effective crime prevention and it is a relatively simple matter when once the problem is understood and an adequate crime-prevention agency is established. It is assumed that the delinquency area, which breeds crime, has been definitely delimited¹⁴. This at once reduces the size of the juvenile population which must be dealt with by excluding the nondelinquency areas. Delinquency areas are usually districts of congested population with high ratios of children in the general population. The problem now becomes one of sifting out those cases which we have called "predelinquents," that is, children who by virtue of behavior problems already manifested or conditions in their biological or social backgrounds are likely to become delinquents. Truants from school and very young delinquents, adolescents who are first offenders, children with a record of delinquency in their immediate families, children living in blocks with excessively high delinquency rates, nondelinquents associated with delinquent gangs, etc., are cases in point. With the development of research and the availability of numerous records bearing upon the beginnings of criminal careers, we shall undoubtedly eventually possess definite indices which will enable us to predict with some degree of precision what children are most likely to become delinquents¹⁵. At present, we are in possession of sufficient knowledge to enable us to bring a crime-prevention program within the limits of practicability by the process of sifting indicated above and the concentration of effort upon critical cases. When we say that our program must be applied systematically to all children in the delinquency area, we mean that all children must be considered in the sifting process which will

¹⁴The methods of delimiting delinquency areas have already been well established by the work of Clifford R. Shaw and others who have delimited the delinquency areas for many American cities.

¹⁵The methods worked out by Glueck and by Burgess and Tibbels in predicting the violation of parole give promise in this direction.

rule out the majority—those who are functioning within an adequate social framework—and leave a considerable residuum of potential criminals whose problems must be dealt with. The emphasis here is upon a systematic approach to the problem which foregoes the hit-or-miss procedure of the average agency of the so-called character-building type and pursues a method designed to catch all the potential delinquents in the area and especially to forestall the overlooking of any critical cases.

The final procedure in the five-point program for the prevention of crime is the creation of new agencies where existing facilities are demonstrated to be inadequate (by research based on special investigation and experience).

The possibility of such a basic program of crime prevention becomes more sure as the logic of our knowledge of the problem of the gang and of crime becomes more inescapable. *Social planning becomes more and more inevitable* as pragmatic tests are applied to our present disorganized social structure. There is no panacea for the solution of the gang problem and its related problem of crime. The market for crime must be considered as well as the supply of criminals, and this is still another problem. In dealing with the gangster and the criminal we have spent far too much thought and money upon how to repress the finished product of the delinquent career. Economy demands that the emphasis be shifted to the problem of prevention which attacks the roots of crime in those areas of the community which are known to be crime-breeding centers.

Important progress in the prevention of disease and the promotion of public health has come about as the result of various health (disease-prevention) demonstrations such as the Social Unit experiment in Cincinnati, Ohio, and other health demonstrations financed by contributions from foundations and public-spirited citizens. Similarly, the time is ripe for adequately financed citizenship (crime-prevention) demonstrations which shall be carried on experimentally over a period of years in various parts of the country. Thus principles of crime prevention can be established and the resulting prophylaxis for crime can be more widely applied by public and private agencies.

BOOK REVIEWS

Trade Training in School and Plant, by HERMAN S. HALL.
New York: The Century Company, 1930, 500 pages.

The avowed purpose of this volume is to provide a handbook for the skilled mechanic who finds himself under the necessity of becoming a teacher, and also for the beginning teacher who is also beginning to realize that knowing his trade is only half the game, he must now learn the new game of teaching. For one who has had but little acquaintance with matters pedagogical, this volume will serve as an excellent introduction. It is replete with illustrative material which will help the neophytic teacher through the routine daily tasks incidental to conducting a class.

Restriction of Output Among Unorganized Workers, by
STANLEY B. MATHEWSON. New York. The Viking
Press, 1931, x+212 pages.

The study, which was sponsored by the Personnel Research Foundation, undertook to answer the question, "Do American workmen, uninfluenced by trade unions, soldier on the job?" Mr. Mathewson has been able to divorce his problem from that of the influences, both favorable and unfavorable, which trade unions exercise over production. His narrative should be especially illuminating to foremen, production executives, and social scientists who want their thinking about human behavior in an industrial society to be grounded in reality. The most significant chapters in the book are 'Workers' Pressure for Restriction, "Boss Ordered" Restriction, Restriction and the Fear of Unemployment, Personal Grievances and Restriction, The Economics of Restriction of Output, and What Can Employers Do About It?

Educational Experiments in Industry, NATHANIEL PEPPER
New York: The Macmillan Company, 1932, 207
pages (Studies in Adult Education).

Following a brief introduction in which the author traces the development of education for industry from the apprenticeship system through formal education to training on the job, the remaining chapters describe in some detail the educational program of more than fifty industries in the United States. Although primarily a factual survey, the serious question is raised "whether the educational goal industry now sets itself is the real one or a deceptive one and whether it is worth the effort."

The Incidence of Work Shortage, by MARGARET H. HOGG
New York Russell Sage Foundation, 1932, 127
pages.

This book is the report of a survey by sample of families (over 2,000 households) made in New Haven, Connecticut, in May-June 1931. It

gives a clear-cut picture of the incidence of unemployment for different groups of workers, contrasted by sex, age, nativity, marital status, occupation, etc. It was surprising to find that unskilled work was much less reduced by the depression than was skilled or semiskilled work. Yet unskilled workers have the highest rate of unemployment, for their field is invaded by the skilled and semiskilled who have lost their usual type of work. Of special value is the picture of the occupational shifts that occur during a period of unemployment, which information is lacking in previous surveys on unemployment.

The Money Value of a Man, by LOUIS I. DUBLIN and ALFRED J. LOTKA. New York: Ronald Press, 1930, xv+264 pages.

This book was developed primarily out of the authors' work and interest in the life-insurance business. The authors attempt to place a money value on wage earners of different classes. Through their statistical tables they hope to give information which would be of value to judges and juries, to lawyers and compensation boards, in making adjudications. The methods and results used by the authors can and will be used on a wide scale in discussions dealing with such national and international questions as the human cost of war, the international war debts, and our own obligation for veterans' pensions. Obviously all of these questions center around the money value of men at various ages.

Supervision and the Creative Teacher, Fifth Yearbook, Department of Supervisors and Directors of Instruction, National Education Association. New York: Bureau of Publications, Teachers College, Columbia University, 1932, x+348 pages.

Those interested in progressive education, and especially in that aspect of it which is concerned with the stimulation of creative effort by teachers, should feel tremendously encouraged over the recognition accorded their position by the volume under review. The volume contains some valuable contributions. The rather detailed and clear statement of the problem which constitutes chapter I is well worth reading. It helps to make clear that much abused word, "creative."

Growth and Development of the Child. Part I, General Considerations. White House Conference on Child Health and Protection. Report of the Committee on Growth and Development, Kenneth D. Blackfan, M.D., chairman. New York: The Century Company, 1932, 377 pages.

The estimation of normal physiological activity and growth, the maintenance of health, diseases in relation to growth and development,

and many related problems. Of interest to physical educators and child-health agencies

Growth and Development of the Child: Part IV, Appraisal of the Child White House Conference on Child Health and Protection Report of the Committee on Growth and Development, Kenneth D. Blackfan, M.D., chairman New York. The Century Company, 1932, 344 pages.

The appraisal of the child's mental status (testing intelligence and motor skills, behavior development, and emotional stability—with discussion of related scientific problems) and the child's physical status (types of examination and devices for use in determining physical status—with discussion of related scientific problems) Of interest to all students of child development.

Psychology and Psychiatry in Pediatrics: The Problem White House Conference on Child Health and Protection Report of the Subcommittee on Psychology and Psychiatry, Bronson Crothers, M.D., chairman. New York The Century Company, 1932, 145 pages

Discussion of present practice of psychiatry with children clinics, children's hospitals, juvenile courts, schools, psychiatric social workers and visiting teachers, and the general practitioner. Discussion of needs and policies Of interest to all school administrators in relation to health and guidance programs.

Vocational Guidance. White House Conference on Child Health and Protection. Report of the Subcommittee on Vocational Guidance, M. Edith Campbell, chairman New York: The Century Company, 1932, 396 pages

Principles and practices, study of the individual, interviewing, counseling, curriculum work, occupational studies, junior employment services, social and legal conditions, and many related problems Good bibliography The best survey of the field available. Of interest to all teachers of vocational subjects and vocational counselors

I Find My Vocation, by HARRY DEXTER KITSON. New York: McGraw-Hill Book Company, Inc., 1931, 261 pages

An excellent text for a course in vocations in a high school Organized around individual projects Emphasis on biographical material, interviewing successful people, analyzing oneself, trying out the vocation, the employer's point of view

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EDITORIAL

The editor of THE JOURNAL OF EDUCATIONAL SOCIOLOGY has asked the department of educational psychology of the school of education, New York University, to furnish the articles for the May number of THE JOURNAL. It is with pleasure that we comply with this request.

Sociology is an interesting and valuable subject and it is fitting and proper that an issue of this magazine should be devoted to the subject from which educational sociology draws many of its fundamental facts. Sociologists have long been trying to develop a science. It is very difficult to formulate a science where so many of the facts and beliefs are based upon the opinions of men, and where there is little or no possibility of objective measurements or means of verification. The observations of sociologists when applied to education are of value to educational theory and practice.

Psychology has only a limited claim to be recognized as a science. There has been accumulated through the aid of such sciences as physics, chemistry, and biology a large mass of data which have some validity beyond mere opinion. The only claim educational psychology has to being a science is that its basic foundation, psychology, has some scientific techniques and procedures with which to secure data. The principles of educational psychology are likewise of value to educational theory and practice.

Recently some educational sociologists have stated that psychologists hold that personality is conditioned primarily by inherited factors. No psychologist will admit such a point of view. Psychology deals with the entire personality in all of its physical and social relationships. It deals with the individual as an individual and the individual as a member of a social group. Educational sociology also deals with the individual. This is evidenced by every case study that is made. It also deals with the individual in the social group.

The fundamental basis of educational sociology is and must be primarily psychology and educational psychology. When the facts of psychology and educational psychology are removed from sociology and educational sociology we have only history, economics, and philosophy remaining. Psychology and educational psychology have long been considered basic to educational theory and practice. It is believed, when proper techniques and sufficient data have been accumulated, that educational sociology may also be equally basic to educational theory and practice.

RESEARCH IN DANCE HALLS

Much has been said about dance halls in urban communities and perhaps no subject affecting the community life has received more consideration. At first it was a problem of the dance hall and the sale of intoxicating liquors and the presence of undesirable characters. However, more of the discussion was based upon general impressions, visits by classes and others interested in social work, or by those who had no further motive than to go slumming. Until recently, therefore, we have had no real research into the problem of the dance hall, its importance and influence.

The recent book by Mr. Paul G. Cressey provides, through exacting research, first-hand data concerning dance halls, the cause of their existence, the types of activity taking place within them, the influence exerted upon those participating, and the social influence of them as a com-

munity institution. Usually when we think of a research study we look upon it as something uninteresting, to be glanced at and returned to the files. Mr Ciessey's book does not fall into this class. While it is based upon a careful research and includes an abundance of facts relative to the dance halls and particularly the taxi-dance halls in Chicago, it is a book that one will read from beginning to end because of its compelling interest.

I picked this book up one evening for the purpose of glancing through it, thinking that it fell into the class of the usual university researches, but found myself, several hours later, concluding the last chapters because I could not take myself away from matters that were new and of absorbing interest.

The Taxi-Dance Hall is not merely an interesting book but it is a book of deepest concern to the sociologist and the educator, and not merely the educator in our universities but teachers in the elementary and secondary schools. In recent years we have come to emphasize the need of an understanding of the social agencies in the community on the part of teachers in order that they might carry on their work in the schools effectively. This book presents the information and essential point of view for understanding an aspect of our community life and no teacher should fail to read this highly interesting and valuable book.

THE WORK OF A PSYCHO-EDUCATIONAL AND MENTAL-HYGIENE CLINIC

DONALD SNEDDEN

Since the time allowed me is not at all excessive, I shall plunge *in medias res*. I shall comment on the work of a psycho-educational and mental-hygiene clinic under three heads. first, the training function of a clinic; second, the research function of the clinic; and third, the service function of the clinic.

That these functions are not mutually exclusive is perfectly realized, but no work as complex as that of a psychological clinic can afford to fail to consider most carefully its functions, not only in their interrelations, but also in their separateness. A psychological clinic is like one of the children with whom it most often deals—it must be considered both analytically and synthetically. Looking only at the parts of the complex will not give a true “whole” picture, and it is just as true that we cannot look at the whole picture with the fullest understanding unless we are aware of all of the parts.

THE TRAINING FUNCTION OF THE CLINIC

Most psycho-educational and mental-hygiene clinics serve in some measure as training grounds for students who are acquiring skill in the processes involved in clinical work. As a matter of fact many clinics tacitly exist *chiefly* to train students. This is a state of affairs that is certainly not to be condemned. Skill in clinical psychology, the field being what it is, is not easily acquired. We want, and feel we have a right to demand, high standards of training for our psychologists. The New York State laws of 1923 make a requirement for qualified psychologists of two full years of graduate work and three years' clinical experience. Not only can students perform this practice work in our clinics to their own advantage, but in a very real sense many of the clinics could not get along without them. There is a great deal of work to be done in any clinic that makes a pretence of doing thorough work, and much of it is of a

relatively simple nature. Students are competent to do this work, with a certain amount of supervision, and so the benefits are mutual.

THE RESEARCH FUNCTION OF THE CLINIC

As most psycho-educational and mental-hygiene clinics are organized, the research function is minimized. I am afraid that this is almost inevitable. The research approach to the involved problems of personality is an approach that differs in kind from the clinical approach. If the clinic attempts to make use of its clinical findings in a research way—and some few clinics do—the researches are quite apt to be rather weak. It is perhaps true that some of the researches that have come out of clinics (for example, those of the Judge Baker Foundation) are the best studies of certain problems that are available, but this does not deny that they are essentially weak. Dealing, as a clinic usually does, only with cases that are abnormal or that are suspected of being abnormal, it is very difficult indeed adequately to control and check the results of research so that we have a clear picture of the true relationship between various factors and a behavior pattern. It is only when research on a specific plan is undertaken by an individual or an organization with sufficient resources to see the plan through, and to obtain the necessary control data, that the results are likely to be of great value. This is becoming increasingly true as our field of psychology is passing out of its babyhood. As more and more factors in the complex situation are becoming identifiable, so more and more controls are necessary in researching in these fields.

The possibility is not denied that a clinic could do research of a valuable kind but, if it is to do so, its personnel must be selected with that in mind and, more seriously, its service function may thereby be much limited.

THE SERVICE FUNCTION OF THE CLINIC

Service to the community is, obviously, the *raison d'être* of a psychological clinic. If, in some few cases, the primary object of a clinic seems to be that of training students in

the procedures of clinical psychology, the service may appear to be, as regards the children of the community, a deferred service. However, even in these cases, since the students cannot learn *in vacuo*, some children must be dealt with and well dealt with if the students are to learn well.

Except under certain limiting circumstances, such as obvious lack of resources, the service function of a clinic probably should subordinate the training function and the research function.

WHAT KIND OF SERVICE SHOULD THE CLINIC ATTEMPT TO PROVIDE?

Generally speaking, and probably in rough order of practice at the present time, psychological clinics attempt to handle three kinds of cases:

1. General scholastic retardation or failure problems
2. Behavior problems—general or specific delinquency
3. Problems of specific subject retardation, especially in the school subjects—special disability cases in reading, arithmetic, speech, etc.

Although it is perfectly true that individual cases are referred to the clinic for one or the other of the above three headings, it is not at all possible to say that the diagnosis and treatment of the three types of cases is, or should be, entirely different. Such would, of course, be the case were the three above mentioned classes of cases rigidly independent. But, obviously, they are not all independent. Any one of them may be and, as a matter of fact, more often than not is in some measure associated with one or both of the other types.

Therefore, although a psychological clinic may aim at the solution of behavior difficulties, or the treatment of general scholastic retardation, or specific subject disability, it will find that it must be equipped and staffed to do all kinds of psychological work. This is a large order. It is entirely possible, however, to reduce its formidability by specifying the kind of immediate problem the clinic is attempting to handle, and certain age and other ranges within

which the clinic will confine itself. For example, a clinic may confine its attentions to preschool or very young school children, as do Dr. Thom's well-known Habit Clinics in Boston, or it may exclude such young children from its clinical facilities, as do, in effect, most of the clinics operated in conjunction with school systems. This simplifies the matter considerably. Or it may, as does the Inceptive Clinic for the Social Adjustment of the Gifted, confine its attention to those within a certain I.Q. range, thereby eliminating most, although not necessarily all, of the problem of general scholastic retardation.

A service primarily directed towards diagnostic and remedial work might well set a lower limit in I.Q. below which it would not attempt to handle the cases, as did Dr. Gates, for example, in studying backwardness in reading only in cases where the I.Q. was above 85. (The median I.Q. of his cases was over 105.)

It is impossible, of course, to state where a clinic should direct its initial attention. This will be determined by what kind of service the clinic desires and what kind it is staffed and equipped to handle.

If, however, we might be permitted to generalize about the work of the hypothetically typical psycho-educational and mental-hygiene clinics, might it be fair to posit the following generalities?

Other things being equal, the clinic, not being a research institution, should lean most heavily on those techniques in its repertoire that are known to be most valid and most reliable. This, of course, being subject to the qualification that the best established techniques are such as are of demonstrated importance. There are, to be sure, a number of techniques that are highly reliable but rather useless. For example, highly reliable anatomic indices based on carpal ossification can be rather readily secured, but, unfortunately, it has been fairly well established that carpal ossification is *not* of any particular importance in clinical psychology. There are, on the other hand, scores of tests like the Cube Imitation test of Knox that are presumably

testing factors in the personality make-up of the individual that may be of great importance, but performance on this particular test is so unreliable, in the statistical sense, that we are practically forced to abandon the use of it. Some tests, or techniques, are of demonstrated low reliability, but of such obvious importance that we must, for the present, put up with them, hoping, however, that the researches will find ways, most of them relatively simple, to increase the reliability of the devices. A test case in point is that of Stenquist's Assembly test, which seems to correlate rather well with success in shop courses in school, in spite of the fact that the reliability of the test itself is not higher than .7 and is probably closer to .6.

Of course, the most obvious case in point concerns the reliability of character judgments or personality judgments. It is granted that these relatively obscure factors are vitally concerned in every adjustment problem that is brought to the clinic. Even in such a specific matter as backwardness in reading, Dr. Gates found that 82 per cent of his cases had definitely undesirable attitudes towards the matter. These specific undesirable attitudes in some cases were apparently causal, in some it could be shown that they were more or less directly the *result* of failure in reading, more specifically caused by improper acquisition of the reading techniques. In a sense, practically all of the work now being done in the mental-hygiene field is being done with techniques so unreliable as to cause shudders among those doing the work when they stop to think about it.

But the mental-hygiene work "must go on." It is of tremendous importance. The development of attitudes and the way these attitudes translate themselves into behavior is every bit more important than the development of certain rather impersonal capacities and abilities. However, the weight that should be attached to any factor in a situation of this sort is a function not of importance alone but of the reliability of our measurement of the factor. Is it realized that if two factors are by their nature equally important in affecting a composite, and if scores on the two

tests measuring these factors have the same dispersions, then if one test has a reliability of .96 and the other a reliability of .64, the former, statistically speaking, deserves about eleven times the weight of the latter? Now .96 is not too high a reliability coefficient for a first-rate individual intelligence test. How is .64 as a measure of the reliability of social intelligence? Well, if we could always feel that our judgments of social intelligence were that reliable we might well be called optimists in clinical psychology. What is there to do? Shall we, therefore, take eleven times the obtained I.Q. and add one time the estimated S.Q. (social quotient) to get some one mechanical representation of the whole? Of course not. The procedure would not only be a mistake from beginning to end, but our grand weighted average would be practically useless, for we would not be able to give it a satisfactory name, without which we, being limited mortals, flounder terribly. Obviously, there is no immediate "way out." We must subjectively evaluate each element in the whole situation, taking into account:

A. The importance of the factors in the case of the individual under consideration

B. The probable reliability of our estimates of the amounts of each factor involved

C. And on the basis of these horribly subjective considerations we must combine the findings into, first, a diagnosis of the particular difficulty and, second, a program of remedial measures

Certainly no easy task, but by no means a hopeless one!

One of the most promising of the methods of synthesis has been developed by Drs. Sheldon and Eleanor Glueck, and is reported in their recently published *500 Criminal Careers*. By studying the relation between some fifty factors in the make-up, environment, and history of 500 young criminals who had been out of the Massachusetts reformatory five years (and of whom, incidentally, about 80 per cent were "failures" after their release), some six or more factors seemed particularly prognostic of success or failure

observations and measurements are made more reliable, so will one source of error be removed from the clinical synthesis.

3 It is suggested that the clinicians insist on more research being done in the complex field of the factors involved in the child composite. This is, of course, very easy to say and very hard to do. But the recent work of T. L. Kelley titled *Cross Roads in the Mind of Man* is a most stimulating approach to the matter. Kelley's approach is terrifyingly mathematical, but his results are very stimulating. In opposition to the rather popularly accepted idea in the educational world, Spearmanian doctrine of a general intellectual factor plus entirely specific factors, Kelley identifies several seemingly very important large group factors. He calls them, though the names are unessential, verbal, numerical, speed, spatial, and memory. You will object that clinical psychologists, not misled by the Spearmanian simplification, have always known of these factors and have been measuring them for years. Maybe so, but we have never known, except on the basis of some armchair thought and a few scattered intercorrelations, that the tests we were using were actually measuring these separable group factors. Furthermore, as I have stated before, even if we had known that we were measuring a separate group factor the sketchy tests we use would certainly give us an almost hopelessly unreliable measure of it. The Stanford Binet, for example, has a reasonable reliability as a whole, but if we, in our clinical fashion, divide it up into memory tests, comprehension tests, vocabulary tests, arithmetic tests, and so on, what becomes of our reliability?

4 It is suggested that clinical workers insist that the researchers control their experiments. Slawson's study of the delinquent boy did this. Lentz's study of boys in the New York City truant school did this. When we do control our findings much of our supposedly diagnostic material appears worthless. Why then, you ask, have we supposed that particular to be diagnostic? My only answer is that even in as young a field of knowledge as clinical psychology there is a heavy weight of tradition. Each new worker is trained by older ones. Lack of verifiable evidence results in much of the guesswork being crystallized and perpetuated. This is, at present, most true in the mental-hygiene field. Here our controlled verifications are almost wholly absent. They will come gradually, but in the meantime the clinical psychologist will have to keep doing two things: first, to use his techniques with the utmost caution (which he undoubtedly does at present in most cases), and second, to keep insisting that those in a position to do the research should check up on his most cherished techniques and beliefs.

EARLY VIEWS OF FUNCTION AS A CONDITION OF MENTAL HEALTH

ADOLPH WILLIAM ALECK

Today education and mental hygiene emphasize more and more the positive side, namely, function or doing. The far-reaching implications of function, or activity, as a condition of mental health have frequently been foreshadowed in the history of education. In a nontechnical sense the great teachers appreciated the significance of function for normal development and attempted to note the conditions upon which normal function depends.

It may be argued that the struggle of modern man takes place within the circle of his age and that from this circle there is no escape. Some believe that from our age spring all our aspirations and to it all our endeavors return. It is sometimes assumed that the struggle grows out of the needs of the age and is carried on by its means. Another view suggests that, when we believe we are thinking for ourselves, the ages are in reality thinking through us. According to the latter view, if our aim is a comprehensive grasp of function, we must study the long history of its development in education.

One of the oldest known attempts to relate mental serenity and poise to function is represented by the yoga school of Indian thought. Function is the method, and the nature of function is highly complex and difficult, according to the ancient treatises on the subject. The asana, or postures, require long practice and involve the observance of strict dietary and moral rules. Beyond doubt the asana may produce a superior physical type. However, the concept of function here is much broader, of course, than one may have been led to suppose. Yoga, for example, makes function central, since in this type of philosophy the way to happiness and well-being lies through action. From a pedagogical standpoint, the task of the guru is specially interesting as a method of attaining higher

levels of mental integration. As every student of Patanjali knows, the concept of function in the teachings of yoga involves a means to the end—the goal of pure, unselfish living. Megasthenes, who visited India immediately after the death of Alexander, was profoundly impressed with the health of the yogis. There seems to be good reason for critical study of function as defined in yoga—the genetic nature of function in this Indian philosophy and the concept of function as a condition of normal development as described in modern hygiene. The practical pedagogy of the guru, too, may be suggestive from the standpoint of whatever views we may hold in regard to the hygiene of instruction. Patanjali, who lived perhaps about 300 B.C., may, in general, be credited with the systematization of yoga practices, although the practices themselves are far older. Still older than Patanjali's system is Sankhya, elaborated by Kapila. Kapila is mentioned even in the Vedas. In Indian thought we find then an extremely ancient and elaborate concept of function as a condition of mental serenity and poise. Vivekananda writes that the first rational system, the basis of all Hindu philosophy, is the system of Kapila.

Among the few who have been called the supremely great figures in the world's history is Confucius. Voltaire declared that there has been no legislator more useful to the human race than this ancient sage of China. Dawson has latterly pointed out that the system of ethics taught by Confucius nearly two thousand five hundred years ago "is well up to the standard of any system of ethics so far recorded." The conception of good conduct as held by the master is functional in character. The dominant thought in this ethical system is what we may call a higher level of integration through normal activity. The aim of Confucius was to help man find and realize his better self. His emphasis was positive. His applications of the functional principle were genetic. In striking respects his views recall those held by Kierkegaard of the ethically autonomous personality and its training.

Laocius, born some six centuries B C., was a philosopher of transcendentalism. The Confucian notion of goodness through propriety was regarded by Laocius as basically false. Both philosophers make function an imperative of development. The nature of Tao, the central concept of Laocius's teachings, is not clear and the master himself believed that this secret was incommunicable. Although his doctrine has sometimes been referred to as "the doctrine of inaction," extreme care must be taken in order not to overlook the place Laocius actually gives to function as a condition of realizing integrated personality. His doctrine of emotional control is no mere vagary, but a mode of function, of action. The master failed to embody his principles in a practical system. In Laocius's doctrine of Taoism may be found interesting parallels to Plato, who a century and a half later comes to some of the same conclusions in the first book of the republic.

A name likely to be less familiar to many students is that of Tschu-hi, the "prince of knowledge." Four hundred years before the end of scholasticism this student of human affairs wrote a remarkable treatise on educational theory. Schmidt, the historian, reports that the distinguished Chinese scholar in his theory anticipated not only Ratchius and Comenius, but the thought of German education that was to appear more than a hundred years later. Function was in Tschu-hi's scheme a primary condition of development. He insisted everywhere on function. His view of function went beyond mere activity. He saw the developmental value of activity conditioned by a worthwhile task. The relation of freedom to wholesome development, freedom as a condition of significant normal activity, he clearly recognized and, throughout, his point of view is genetic. His emphasis is upon attentive coordinated activity. The treatise marks the need for considering individual differences in the study of activity, tasks are to be suited to the needs and nature of the child. His interest in activity as a condition of normal development led him to consider special methods of stimulating to

activity the easily discouraged, the timid, the lazy, the over enthusiastic, and the indifferent students. On the whole, Tschu-hi in a nontechnical sense regarded function from a hygienic point of view.

In Hebrew as well as in Indian and Chinese educational theory and practice activity is recognized as a condition of development. The great importance of doing is specially emphasized by the Mishna. Moreover, the Talmudic concept of activity is broad. The theory of activity is connected with the economy and hygiene of learning. Normal alternation of rest and work periods, recognition of types of individual differences in ability, and emotional control are implied by function. The positive emphasis placed by Moses on function in terms of the sanitary code described in the Old Testament is an example of great legislation. The teaching plan and method of Jesus have been the subject of many books and articles. The positiveness of Jesus's method is familiar. He made function a condition of growth and development.

To pre-Christian times belong the familiar names of Socrates, Plato, and Aristotle. Names of other famous Greeks could be added, but this great trio stands apart. Health of mind was the primary aim of Socrates. He put training before instruction. Function, or doing, he made a vital condition of growth in wisdom and well-being. Socrates has sometimes been called the inventor of the developing method in education. The profound conception of function held by Socrates suggests a vision of *die Tat* as comprehensive in its scope as that expressed in Goethe's *Faust*. Holt and others have written on the significance of the Socratic idea of doing and its relation to integration. In the teaching principles of Socrates we find an enlightened view of function as a condition of normality. The method of Socrates is so familiar that it need only be mentioned here.

Plato in his republic makes activity an imperative. However, he recognizes the genetic character of method. The manifoldness of function and its implications hold the in-

terest of Plato and he outlines a program of education based on activities through which the individual may realize his best self. The individual is regarded by Plato as a psychophysical being, and normality is looked upon as a functional rather than structural concept. The great idealist, to whom the dyspeptic Carlyle referred as "a lordly Athenian much at ease in Zion," saw activity as a condition of life and health. In his own life Plato appears to have illustrated the lesson of hygiene. A modern historian tells us that Plato "represented in his person everything ideally Greek. He was a man of great beauty, a human Apollo, a man endowed with every physical and mental talent, and his moral character was almost ideal in its purposes." Perhaps the Greek word which suggested the name "Plato" to Aristotle points to evidence that this modern estimate is a fair one.

For mental hygiene the great importance of Aristotle may lie largely in his emphasis on scientific method, the systematic way of discovering reality in a technical sense, and on his remarkable application of that method. After Aristotle a decline in Greek thought set in, if Davidson is correct. So-called Greek thought of the post-Aristotelian period takes on a mythologic and peculiarly mystic character. Stoicism, to be sure, seems to be an exception, but this type of philosophy is not Hellenic but Semitic in origin. A Hellenic exception may be Epicurus. Aristotle took a hygienic view of education. He made prevention a matter of fundamental importance, but he took a positive view of prevention. The genetic principle Aristotle made his guide in naming the conditions of normal activity through which mind and body were to be trained. Serenity and happiness he believed were to be found outcomes of normal living habits. Socrates, Plato, and Aristotle made meaningful activity an imperative of development. A recent writer has pointed out that Aristotle took the psychophysical position which in our times has been represented most notably in Meumann's pedagogy and by many schools of

psychology. The Greeks took their cue from an integrative principle which they termed a harmony.

Function plays a part in Roman educational theory, but not in the Greek sense. A comparison of Greek and Roman educational theory reveals certain wide differences in the telic character of activity. After the death of Cato, Roman education takes on Greek characteristics, but the Roman did not become Greek. Among those whose pedagogical theories are of special interest are Cicero, Seneca, Quintilian, and perhaps Plutarch. Cicero took the position that education is an active process developmental in character, although his educational aim is politico-utilitarian. Seneca showed a grasp of the purposive-activity principle. Seneca emphasized a view frequently met in the history of man, namely, the view that the way to wisdom lies through the valley of suffering. It is a view of wisdom in arresting contrast with that held by the famulus Wagner in *Faust*. The externalities of activity, Seneca felt, must not be mistaken for or obscure the purpose of activity. Quintilian's view of the orator, as described in his famous *Institutes of Oratory*, gives a major place to expression as a condition of normal growth. Oratory is not the end, it is merely the means of development. Like many other great teachers, Quintilian taught that normal social training is possible only in normal social groups. His educational plan is stated not in terms of any "rule-of-thumb" to be memorized, but a hygienic regimen to be followed. *The Lives of Plutarch* have been a stimulus to action in the service of great causes. Plutarch saw life in terms of achievement, not enjoyment, and we can only make conjectures concerning his far-reaching influence over the centuries in the cause of purposive activity.

A brief summary of some early views of function as a condition of mental health suggests several interesting points. First of all, the idea of activity as a condition of normal growth may be traced to antiquity. Second, in the earliest times we find students of education who noted the hygienic aspect of function and attempted to incorporate

in their plans for training a regimen making for health. Third, while the general principle of function is common to all great teachers, we discover considerable variation in the types of application suggested. Fourth, we find that in some form or other the great Indian, Chinese, Hebrew, Greek, and Roman sages recognized the psychosomatic character of function as a condition of life and health. Fifth, the emphasis of the great masters was positive. Sixth, from the earliest times the idea of function as a condition of health has been associated with the genetic point of view. Finally, the study of the manifoldness of activity and its subtlety may be useful for moderns as inspiration or warning in their progress, as our Indian friends might put the matter, from the worm to Siva.

CLINICAL METHODS APPLIED TO TEACHING

LLOYD N. YEPSEN

It is the prime purpose of the school to devote its attention to the production of citizens who will be able to function in the society in which they are placed. This decision, when made in the course of the evolution of society, was a significantly important one and led to the preparation of groups especially concerned with the presentation to the youth of those experiences and arts which the group as a whole had found essential. This, no doubt, made for economy of effort and allowed the taught to obtain a greater fund of essential tribal lore and arts than was possible under any other system.

The changes that have taken place in what is taught the learner have been in accord with the information and tools the elders of the group have opinioned it was necessary for the neophyte to have in order that he might at the proper time assume his place in the society of his fathers. The constantly shifting situation of society has placed a burden upon all those concerned with the young who will eventually take the place of the elders. Some have been unorthodox enough to suppose that it is possible for the adult to get along without information, as such, and tools, as such, if he has learned how to get along with his environment. If that point of view is examined thoroughly, it is to be seen that it places a premium upon the individual who has no need for the experiences of the past or who possesses such a high level of ability that he can make for himself many of the major experiments of society without suffering too much of a loss of time. Directed activity, then, which includes a modification of the old emphasis upon tool subjects and ease of adjustment must be the way out of the difficulty.

Man is forced to make continual adjustments. How he gets along, why he gets along, how he reacts, and why he reacts are fundamental problems in psychology. It is un-

fortunate for the average student that the so-called schools of psychology should confuse him. It is only after he reaches maturity that he appreciates that certain presentations were only methods of study and not fundamental precepts. It is for this reason that even the thorough student in a course in psychology may feel that his knowledge does not help him understand the man in the street. It is only after he is able to make a complete synthesis of his material that this understanding comes. He fails to appreciate that there are underlying and fundamental psychological laws for every segment of behavior he may witness. Nothing "just happens" in nature. The student may have been told that there is a certain law concerning falling bodies and, observing a feather falling, apply this law only to find that the object reverses its course and returns to the height from which it started at a speed greater than that attained during the period of downward movement. The learner may well say that the law does not apply, that there is something wrong. If he does not seek to find the cause of the sudden reversal, he is very much like the student who fails to find the reason for a sudden reversal of expected action in the field of applied psychology. Group and individual reactions have psychological foundations. The failure to appreciate this may be one of the causes for much of the poor work done in fields which ignore or refuse to admit the need for such a background.

All those concerned with the study and interpretation of human relationships, *i.e.*, the relationships of one human to another or to any phase of the environment, may well apply the point of view of the clinical psychologist. That point of view is essentially analytical, pointing towards the demonstration of the reasons for a specified segment of the behavior continuum to have a certain aspect and to make prognostications regarding the probable future behavior pattern we may expect to witness. The definite objective data of the carefully planned experiments of the past must form the foundation of the final understanding. This does not mean that the individual should be a clinical

psychologist, but he should find his point of view an excellent basis for orientation.

The individual, the subject, or the situation should be studied in order to determine the causal factor or factors operative. The condition does not necessarily have to be a pathological or abnormal one, for much that we consider abnormal is but a deviation from the central tendency and is not a difference in kind but only a difference in degree. Unfortunately, there is a tendency to consider only a slight deviation as being without the range of the "normal group" and believe that it actually represents a different kind of contact. On the other hand, the central tendency idea may lead to a failure to recognize differences of a fine degree. Specific reactions, small segments of the total reaction pattern, can be, at best, but symptomatic and must be considered in the light of the whole.

The total relationship value will be determined eventually. For this aid the statistician is of importance. He appreciates the need for careful study of the variables encountered and the application of his rigid methods of analysis will develop the basic laws operating in the totality. This will ultimately lead to the development of formulas which will not obscure the individual but will enable us to see him with greater clarity. The stresses and strains will then be thoroughly understood and greater accuracy will be found in the delineations and prognostications.

Great teachers are clinical teachers. The teacher can apply clinical methods in her classroom and obtain better results, irrespective of what type of results we may consider necessary, by so doing. Every teacher can read with profit that greatest evidence of clinical teaching—the teaching of the so-called *Savage of Aveyion* by Itard. In his stirring example of untiring effort with a feeble-minded boy we find a constant recognition of the changing status of the pupil as the teaching slowly progressed. Mass instruction has, to a large degree, removed the opportunity

of close pupil-teacher relationship, but it has not entirely removed the possibility. Each teacher has it within her power to obtain some understanding of the equipment and needs of the individual pupil. The teacher of today is much more objective in the estimation of the type of pupil with whom she or he is dealing than the teacher of a generation ago. It is not argued that the teacher should employ any of the special techniques for study since that is largely the job of the expert. She can put to active use the knowledge of individual differences and pupil variation. If this is done, individualization is certain to follow. She knows that very little of the applied psychology that has been given her in her training period was not based upon actual experimentation. The most recent and authoritative text in educational psychology should be always within reach as a service manual to which she may refer when confronted with a problem in her teaching. Some one, somewhere, has previously met with the specific problem or one similar to the one confronting her and data are available as to the findings. She must be able to observe critically and evaluate scientifically.

Engines of a certain type and size will carry certain loads. If they are overloaded or are not handled properly difficulties are encountered. Children having certain abilities and backgrounds will make certain reactions. If they are not understood, difficulties are encountered. Does the teacher know anything regarding the learning rate of her children? Is she able even to approximate the differences existing between the individual pupils? This she would be able to do and would be expected to do if she took the clinical attitude towards her job. When learning difficulties appear, when the learner reaches a point where it seems that there is something operating to prevent learning continuing at the proper rate, is the teacher able to identify the reason for the moment of nonlearning or must the pupil take the next step without the benefit of having cleared up the problem? The teacher would find definite aid if trained to analyze and solve the problem. Are

emotional difficulties found in the classroom or on the playground reported to exist in the home? Is the learner in danger of having increased a certain asocial attitude and of becoming a serious problem to himself when he leaves the school situation? Sufficient studies have been made of children of all types to enable the teacher who has the analytical attitude to make the proper delineations in order to overcome the difficulties. The teacher expects growth, expects accomplishment during the period of time the pupil is under her direction. This makes it necessary that some information be available so that she is able to evaluate pupil progress at any time. If learners can make the correct adjustments at all times the effectiveness of the school will be increased greatly. It is to be believed that the advance of the race would be so rapid that we would all stand aghast.

This does not mean that the clinical method will serve only to increase the sum total of acquired subject matter. Other phases now being stressed but not studied scientifically will be brought out with equal emphasis. To go again to the education of the mentally inferior, we find that since the initiation of training for this statistically small group factors other than attainment have been considered important. Appreciating the relative insignificance of this group in proportion to the problems presented the leaders saw early that there were things of more importance than quantitative acquisition. They sought to develop the personality of the individual deviate. Working with a group of relative equality in ability it was seen that there were opportunities for differentiation in training with attending differences in results. No great claims were made, or are now made, as to what was being done. They appreciated that the individual was able to get along better as more of a productive being in his group, that he required less supervision, and that his own happiness was greater. These were ends to be obtained quietly and without ostentation. Those who were concerned with these problems knew how much strain and what types of strains

could be placed upon the subject and, through constant contact and accurate knowledge as to what differentiation was taking place, they built for their results. If education is to continue to be effective and to meet the demands of a changing world, it is extremely necessary that these other phases of the individual and his needs be considered. It is improper to assume, however, that the results are being obtained without definitely knowing and objectively demonstrating what advances are being made.

It is difficult to obtain the scientific point of view without much regimentation. Thus the teacher must cultivate at an early stage in her career. The psychological foundations for all learning and adjustment must be understood and applied. Adaptation and flexibility will be found in the presentation and the school's product as measured by better citizens will more than repay the teacher and the school adopting the clinical attitude.

THE STATUS OF INSTINCT

CHARLES E. SKINNER

Mr. Fay N. Pierce, a graduate student in the School of Education, New York University, is preparing a thesis on the subject of "The Status of Instinct in Psychology and Education." The periodical literature and books in the fields of psychology and biology have been searched for the purpose of finding out what the authorities believe with respect to instinct. Leading psychologists and biologists in the country were asked to check a questionnaire which he had prepared and to comment on the topic. The data secured were classified, analyzed, and interpreted. In this paper, a few of the comments from biologists and psychologists will be given, together with some of the results of the investigation.

Instinct is primarily a biological concept that has become incorporated in the terminology of the functional psychologists (e.g., James, Angell, Dewey, and Thorndike), comparative psychologists, and child psychologists. The structural psychologists, radical behaviorists, and *Gestalt* psychologists have either avoided the use of the term or limited its use to certain specific fields. Sociologists have been especially critical of the theory of instinct. The theory belongs to the fields of biology and psychology rather than to sociology. The sociologists in the wake of the structural psychologists, radical behaviorists, and descriptive experimentalists have performed a worth-while service through their criticisms. They have caused the biologists and psychologists who use the term to reexamine their data and think over again the entire problem.

Let us examine some of the comments from the biologists and psychologists and ascertain to what conclusions they lead us.

I. The Biologists Speak

I do not use the terms "instincts" and "habits" any more than I use the terms "designating the faculties of the mind."

Animal action seems to me to be made up of instinctive and habit qualities. Practically every act is partly inherent, that is, instinctive and partly acquired from habit. Very few animal acts are pure instincts. The sneezing of a new-born baby is as much of an instinct as I can easily imagine and yet this is modified in later life, certainly, by acquired actions. I think you will see from what I say that I decline instinct and habit as descriptive of animal reactions although I admit that in every act there is an instinctive and habit element. The separation of these is, to my mind, somewhat artificial but reasonably convenient. The instinctive element is that with which an animal is born, the habit element is that which it acquires in later life, but whether the line of birth is so important as this implies is generally questionable in my mind.

G. H. PARKER, *Harvard University*

In spite of the fact that instinct is in its manifestations one of the most complex things in nature, I think that in its genesis it arises from phenomena which are relatively much simpler. In brief, I look upon instinct as a more or less complicated chain of reflexes which are always associated with some sort of nervous system. Sometimes this chain of reflexes is a relatively short one, at other times it is more a net than a chain and is extremely complicated. But the element which is present in all instincts, so far as I know, is a reflex. Of course, this leaves reflex unexplained and the best that I can say with respect to this is that it is an automatic response conditioned by the organization of the living matter.

E. G. CONKLIN, *Princeton University*

As a biologist I would define instinct as follows. A series of protoplasmic reactions initiated by external stimuli and effected without voluntary control. I would distinguish it from voluntary activity which is initiated from stimuli originating within the organism and which is under control. Such a definition, I believe, would cover most of the reactions which we speak of as instinctive, as well as such concepts as "the inherited habit," etc.

GARY N. CALKINS, *Columbia University*

The term "instinct" as used and understood by me signifies the more complex reflex forms of behavior of animals, apparently inherited or at least not known to be essentially modified or influenced by the experience of the individual. It looks as if the learning of the race had been fixed in complex hereditary patterns of behavior like the simpler reflexes are fixed in the higher animals. Most of the complex behavior patterns are evolved through individual experience.

A. J. CARLSON, *The University of Chicago*

I would regard as instinct the manifestation of any behavior that is purely genetic. If you ask me how one is to tell whether a given behavior is genetic, the best I can do is to say that proof is obtained when all opportunity to learn the behavior has been prevented and when practically all individuals behave in the same way.

A. FRANKLIN SHULTZ, *University of Michigan*

Instincts are unconditioned reflex responses of the organism as a whole to specific internal and external stimuli, adapted to the preservation of the organism or the perpetuation of the species. The term "unconditioned" implies that the neural mechanisms involved are inherited as a functional unit.

I would regard the instincts, therefore, as teleological mechanisms which are not developed by training or experience, but are inherited and operate independently of voluntary control.

W. H. HOWELL, *Johns Hopkins University*

Primary behavior, coming without previous experience, is what I take to be instinctive and to depend in higher animals on a specific arrangement within the nervous system. Primary behavior may be, in some cases, permanent and not subject to modification. In a large number of cases it can be modified and thus become secondary behavior for which complicated explanations are needed. The possibility of the modification of some instinctive responses is one source of difficulty in dealing with the matter of instinct.

HENRY H. DONALDSON, *Wistar Institute*

An instinct is a definite mode of behavior that does not have to be learned and which is based on an inherited nervous pattern. This does not preclude the possibility of modification, improvement by practice, or inhibition.

H. H. NEWMAN, *The University of Chicago*

The definition given by Lloyd Morgan in his book on instinct is, I think, approved by most biologists.

Instinct is probably not easy to define precisely. Its usage seems to run all the way from *repressing actions* through a series that are tied up with endocrine changes to those in which the behavior is, in part at least, tied up with memory of previous experience and in which reactions dependent upon a conscious or unconscious memory of previous experiences play a part.

I do not need to elaborate upon Lloyd Morgan's definition but it is obvious that instinct is a popular term and we wish to use it as it is popularly used. If we don't want to do that, then we should adopt a new term for the new ideas. Commonly we speak of a feeding instinct, of a sex instinct, of the instinct

of fear or self-protection. These would seem to be properly included, with others, in the popular term "instinct."

CHARLES P. DAVENPORT, *Carnegie Laboratory*

The primary problem regarding instinct is, at the moment, one of nominalism. The word "instinct" is a single unit, considered as a word, but it is freely used as the label of a whole series of extremely diverse concepts. Little progress is likely to be made on the problem of instinct as long as this condition prevails.

In my opinion the word "instinct" may properly and precisely be used as the label of the concept that an instinct is the underlying cause or mechanism (not further or more precisely definable in the present state of biological knowledge) which motivates particular acts or patterns of behavior of the organism as a whole, which are purposive (adaptive) in character at their first appearance and, therefore, not dependent upon any prior process of individual or personal learning or experience.

RAYMOND PEARL, *Johns Hopkins University*

In my thinking, I have regarded instincts as actions, the patterns of which are either congenital or naturally developed in the course of individual existence—patterns which are more complex than those of the reflexes of sneezing, coughing, and so forth.

I have tended to regard instincts as the natural consequences of certain emotions, much as James and McDougall regarded them. It seems to me that the natural behavior of a person who is angry and attacks are good illustrations of the combination of emotions and instincts. As I regard these manifestations, they are not different in character from reflexes, but are much more complex.

W. B. CANNON, *Harvard University*

I consider as instincts automatic responses to environmental stimuli. The physical bases which are responsible for these responses are inherited. The complexity of the type of animal determines the number and complexity of its instincts, thus, the simplest condition occurs among the Protozoa. All of the activities of lower animals that prepare them for conditions in the future, which have never been experienced by them previously, are instinctive. Instincts may be modified by experience to a certain extent in all animals. Such modifications involve reason.

ROBERT HIGGINS, *Johns Hopkins University*

The term "instinct" has been used in so many different senses that it has practically no meaning at the present time except as defined by the individual who uses it.

My practice at present is to apply the term, if at all, to behavior patterns which are not acquired as a result of individual postnatal experience, that is, which are not learned in the ordinary sense of the term. They may be inherited or not. They may be acquired during prenatal experience or they may come to expression in later life as the body matures. Since inheritance, prenatal experience, and normal growth processes are very uniform for all members of a race or species, the instincts tend similarly to be uniformly manifested. List everything else in behavior, they are readily modifiable by personal experience.

In general, those behavior patterns which are acquired after birth through personal experience, including well-established habits, are excluded from the category of instinct and reflex. The concept of instinct includes both inherited and acquired behavior, but the acquisition is in terms of biological factors, prenatal or postnatal, incidental to the heredity, growth, and maturity of the bodily organization as physiological processes. No sharp distinction can be drawn between late acquisitions of this sort which are not learned in the ordinary sense and learned through experience with environment, for normal growth is also a reaction to environment, and all learning is growth.

The distinction between reflex and instinct, as thus defined, cannot be sharply drawn. In general, the "reflexes are immediate responses to stimulation and in most cases are probably inherited patterns, but a chain reflex grades into instinct without clearly defined boundary" (Loeb).

This is a very unsatisfactory statement and I am somewhat in doubt whether the concept of instinct has any value anywhere, either in biology or psychology, in the present state of knowledge.

C JUNSON HERRICK, *The University of Chicago*

I would say that I find myself in the same difficulty which is apparently troubling psychologists and biologists with reference to the term "instinct." This designation is used so loosely both by the lay and in technical application that it seems to me to have lost its value, if, indeed, it ever had any.

Instinct is used to explain a certain type of behavior without, in any sense, being explanatory. In all of my studies of normal behavior I have studiously avoided the use of the word. To me it seems prejudicial. If, for example, I should call the crawling or propping reaction of the new-born kitten or the swimming reaction made by such an animal immediately after birth instinctive, I should have prejudged these phenomena—whereas my real interest in the matter is to determine the neural mechanisms by which such reactions may be explained.

It is possible that the term "instinct" may ultimately acquire

a definitive meaning, but, in its present status, I prefer not to use it in scientific description

FREDERICK TILNEY, *Columbia University*

I do not believe that biologists have any great difficulty in defining the word "instinct" To me the word has always meant "unlearned behavior" Instinct is, however, much more than reflex action or a chain of reflexes. It is a persistent tendency which exists until the chain of reflexes has functioned more or less in its proper order Thus the breeding instinct induces various courtship phenomena finally leading to copulation Incidentally, the courtship of each species is more or less specific The work which Coghill has been doing shows the nature of the hook-ups within the central nervous system These bring instinctive behavior patterns to the different animals As every one knows, instincts may be modified and, further, they may be improved by training, but that is no reason why one should confuse instincts due to nerve muscle arrangements and due to learned behavior superimposed upon this instinctive ground structure

G K NOBLE, *Museum of Natural History*

II The Psychologists Speak

If the word "instinct" were not mentioned in psychology textbooks, I would never have any use for it, but merely distinguish between original and learned behavior

To me, most of the so-called technical terms in psychology are mere "collective nouns" grouping together certain activities on some common basis either in stimulus or response or both

L R GEISSLER, *Randolph-Macon College*

1 There are in every organism a number of different integrated patterns of response which appear without opportunity for the operation of any process homologous to learning

- a) The organization must have a structural basis
- b) The structure must be a product of developmental mechanics

2 The behavior resultant from these structural mechanisms has been variously classified as reflex, instinct, drive, emotion, innate tendency, innate capacity, etc Ignorance of the phenomena has prevented any clear and satisfactory bounding of these classes and no satisfactory division will be possible until we know more of the physiological basis of the reactions

It is desirable to differentiate between activities which are established by growth processes and those which result from learning. The distinction may be of little value for educational psychology, but is important for those of us who are interested in ontogeny and physiology per se

3 Usage limits the term "instinct" so that it cannot be applied to all innately conditioned behavior. On the other hand, there is no agreement as to its restrictions. No one, therefore, can justly use the term in scientific writing without an exact definition of his own meaning. The term is, therefore, of no scientific value, but its various denotations are not less important.

4 I should classify the problems of innate conditioning of behavior as follows

- a) Mechanisms producing specific coordinated reactions to definable stimuli
 - (1) Involving point to point conduction, as perhaps the scratch reflex
 - (2) Mechanisms involving relational responses, as recognition and reaction to female rat by male (common restriction of term "instinct")
- b) Mechanisms producing diffuse facilitation or inhibition
 - (1) Central priming and studying mechanisms (e.g., striate and cerebellar functions)
 - (2) Organic hungers
 - (3) Diffuse changes in central nervous tone constituting emotion
- c) Organic limitations of capacity
 - (1) Inherent determination of the character of perceptual and logical organization
 - (2) Limitation of capacity as by deficient cortical cell number

The nature of the mechanism in each case remains to be discovered. The classification is based solely on the hunch that the phenomena in each group have a common physiological basis. I am inclined to apply the term "instinct" to a and b, since we have no other name for this category which includes most of the specific instances of behavior which have been termed "instinctive."

Concerning the innate behavior of man, I feel that no definite statement whatever is justified by our present ignorance of the phenomena.

K S LASHLEY, *The University of Chicago*

My view combines the following features

- 1 Inherited (innate) central mechanisms of few distinct types
- 2 Aroused by specific (but variable) situations
- 3 Leading to specific types of unrest (variable reflexes)
- 4 Usually organized in chains (as in your No 10)
- 5. Relieved by specific (but variable) new situations introduced by the process

- 6 Unlearned and without foresight of end, but quickly modified by individual experiences (usually)

E. B. DELABARRE, *Brown University*

A term descriptive of forms of behavior determined by the interdependent action of heredity and environment in so far as such behavior is common to normal members of a species.

L. CARMICHAEL, *Brown University*

Instinct seems to me to denote an abstraction, which, as in the case of "heredity," is useful for purposes of thinking about various aspects of behavior.

I should like to recognize a distinction within instinctive behavior of well-defined patterns of response, mostly reflexes, and the vague, powerful, and adaptive "urges," "wishes," or "psychological pressures" The latter seem to me much more important for education, but both exist or both are commonly embraced in the term "instinct"

It seems to me that Child's work on *Physiological Foundations of Behavior* makes the old instinct-environment distinction appear rigid and out of date. Growth is a continuous adjustment, even when it seems to respond to inner stresses or determiners.

GOODWIN WATSON, *Columbia University*

The fact is that I have never used the word myself and have always supposed it to be a useless word in psychology. I was brought up that way by Titchiner, but in a very different atmosphere at Harvard. I still feel the same way The concept seems useless.

EDWIN G. BORING, *Harvard University*

My belief is that several different definitions will serve the purpose all right if consistently used. That is to say, a person could define instincts in any one of several different ways and tell a useful story about human or animal behavior. If one used a definition which made instincts, let us say, a very rigid type of behavior, then one's list of instincts would be a relatively short one and one would usually have to say that the actual behavior observed any time after birth would be a mixture of inherited dispositions and acquired tendencies. If, on the other hand, one defined instincts in a rather liberal way, the lists and discussion would take a different form. Again, one's definition might emphasize largely the behavior that is actually observed or some assumed underlying basis, such as connections in the nervous system. My point, in other words, is that any one of several definitions would do, provided a person's whole account were written so as to reveal facts consistent with the definition. My marks, therefore, mean in general that while I might not myself elect such a definition I think

that a person could write a psychology, if he desired to, by using the definition indicated. Again, a person's definition of instincts usually must conform to his general point of view in psychology. Thus the definition used by Thorndike or Allport or McDougall simply would not fit well into the general system of the *Gestalt* psychologists. To ask which of the definitions is better is, in such a case, equivalent to asking which of the general accounts is the more useful. My own definition really amounts to a corollary of the general explanatory system which I have adopted.

ARTHUR I. GATES, *Columbia University*

In brief, it seems to me that the value of instincts in education has just about disappeared. We may have to admit that all behavior originally and fundamentally has to develop out of reflexes and instincts. However, what might have been innate in behavior is overlaid by modification in response to adaptations to the environment from the very first day onwards. Consequently, whatever we find of human behavior is an entangled mixture of instinct and learning. It is impossible, therefore, in my belief, to point to any one act and to say that it is instinctive because learning has had its part in determining everything that we do from infancy on.

PERCIVAL M. SYMONDS, *Columbia University*

1. A definition of instinct should first of all stress the fact that it is largely innate in character, but at the same time the adjective should not be used interchangeably for hereditary or inherited. The average concept stresses this point very strongly. The point should be added, of course, that instinctive acts are modifiable and, therefore, depart from their strict innate basis. When educative inhibitions have gone so far as to cancel certain instinctive reactions, you will find cases which come more and more on the borderline where it will be hard to decide whether the response has the form of an instinctive pattern.

2. An instinctive response should not be called simply a chain or pattern of reflexes. Here again we shall find borderline cases in which it will be difficult to decide as to whether they are complex reflexive responses or instinctive actions. Certainly instinctive actions are based upon reflex responses, but they cannot be analyzed into them. New features are added when the animal is organized on an instinctive pattern. To this extent I think that the theory of configuration or *Gestalt* is useful. Psychology would have to discard the term "perception" by the same logic because it is made up of simpler processes all genetically derived from them.

3. In my own thinking, I reserve the term "instinctive action" for those objective situations which appeal to the organism not as separate stimuli but as a perceived situation on the

conscious level. The term "reflex" does not take care of that type of action, but where the animal is conscious of a favorable or unfavorable total situation without knowing the purpose of his responses and goes ahead to build, as does the beaver the dam, no one but a strict behaviorist would claim that the responses were adequate only to separate stimuli. The complex situation is presented and the complex series of acts results.

4. That the act is purposive occurs, of course, only to the observer or to the human animal after or some time while he is instinctively reacting. A human person, for instance, may have at the same time the blind impulsiveness of the reactions to sex situations and feel perhaps in the background that he is doing the normal or beneficial thing for the race. But certainly, in animals lower than man purpose presumably never enters into the reaction. Of course, if one wishes to put in purpose here, there is no reason why one should not put purpose into everything. Perhaps we are more greatly tempted in the field of instinct because of the outstanding adequacy of many of the responses, but one might as well say that the beauty of a snowflake under the microscope was meant to elicit the artistic impulses from man.

CHRISTIAN A. RUCKMICK, *State University of Iowa*

When I use the term "instinct" or "instinctive" I prefer it to mean a complex form of behavior favored by a congenital predisposition and made up by an integration of reflexes, learned muscular acts, and perceptions, the whole so organized as to produce a complex form of psychophysiological behavior normally useful to the individual or to the species.

G. M. STRATTON, *University of California*

An instinct is an inherited or innate psychological disposition which predisposes its possessor to perceive or pay attention to objects or impressions of a certain class and which, on perception of such an object, determines emotional excitement of a specific quality and a train of activity tending to produce change of a particular kind in the creatures' relations to the object.

WILLIAM McDUGALL, *Duke University*

COMMENTS

1. Instinct is still an unsolved puzzle. The recent works of Lashley and Coghill, which show the nature or hook-ups in the central nervous system, promise to dispel much of the mystery and confusion that now exists.

2. Instinct is a term very difficult to define. It refers

to "innate," "unlearned," "purely genetic behavior" common to all normal members of the species. It is dependent upon organic structure and organization, or "central mechanisms inherited as a functional unit," which are "incident to heredity, growth, and maturity of bodily organization as physiological processes." Instinct is "either congenital or comes to expression as the body matures." Many biologists and psychologists use the term to include *all* innate behavior. Whether the mechanisms of instinct are few and this type of behavior "rigid," or many and the behavior patterns much more flexible, is a disputed point. Both internal and external specific but variable stimuli precipitate or arouse instinctive responses. Instinct is "adapted to the preservation of the organism or the perpetuation of the species."

3. Some biologists and psychologists make no distinctions between instinct and reflex; others differentiate. "Instincts are organized often in chains." "Instinct is not a chain or pattern." "Instinct is much more than a chain of reflexes; it is more complex than reflexes." "It is an integration of reflexes." Instinct includes both reflexes and—what are educationally more valuable—"urges, wishes, and psychological pressures" (tensions or states of unrest which are relieved by new situations).

4. Many biologists and psychologists believe the term "instinct" should be retained. "In its complexity, instinct cannot be reduced to simple terms." "It is a valuable *descriptive* concept." "It is useful for purposes of thinking about various aspects of behavior." "It is a popular term that has become a part of our literature."

5. An increasing number of leading biologists and psychologists regard the term as of doubtful value or even as useless. "It stands for so many conflicting concepts." "It is difficult to define as the term is used in so many different ways." "It has no use in scientific description." "It is of diminishing value in scientific description." "Of no use in descriptive experimental psychology." "A loose and ambiguous term." "It is not an explanatory concept."

"Some recent studies raise considerable doubt about the claims of the so-called instinct-psychologists."

6 Instinctive behavior often "gets overlaid by modifications in response to adaptations of the individual to the environment from the very first day onwards" What we find of human behavior is "an entangled mixture of instinct and learning." Therefore, the term "instinctive" appears to be preferable to "instincts" It is used to describe "a certain type of behavior without in any sense being explanatory." "The learned is superimposed upon instinctive ground structure" (nerve-muscle arrangements).

7 Some authorities believe instinct is on the conscious level while reflex is not controlled by consciousness. Some believe that while consciousness is present, the act is effected without voluntary control

8. Many believe that no sharp line of demarcation exists between reflex and instinct, and between instinct and learning. Some believe that the instinct theory is applicable to animals but not to man; others hold that there is no break between animals and man.

9 *Summary.* Fundamental behavior patterns and tendencies, known as "instincts," do exist The term "instinct" serves as a practical and descriptive function by denoting innate patterns that are more complex and more easily modified than those in the case of reflexes. For strictly scientific purposes, the term has little or no value as it is used in many different ways and as a typical "cloak or cover" term It does not explain, therefore an increasing number of biologists and psychologists are turning away from its use Just now, both psychologists and biologists are on the fence, although indications point strongly towards abandonment of the term for scientific purposes It remains for future experiments to determine whether we will keep the word or drop it

THE CONTENT AND OBJECTIVES OF EDUCATIONAL PSYCHOLOGY IN TEACHER TRAINING

EDWARD L. KEMP

Educational psychology is an amorphous subject; its particular province is ill-defined and its specific outcomes are matters of conflicting opinion and controversial dispute. Moreover, the multiplicity and diversity of its endeavors and purposes jeopardize the optimum benefits of educational psychology as a professional instrument by dissipating its effectiveness in too many directions. The demands added to its accumulated burdens are often paralleled by the exaggerated expectations of those who turn to it for aid. As the heir of countless investigations into innumerable things, educational psychology has become a professional omnibus.

The content of the subject has been derived from many sources in rapidly developing fields against an ever changing pedagogical background. It has been built up under a variety of influences (e.g., the several schools of psychology) by teachers in colleges and universities. Almost invariably and inevitably the interest or major field of the writer has determined the kind and amount of the material included in a book or taught to classes, and the emphasis given to the items comprising either or both of them. Many of the topics, or their treatment, have become traditional and frequently many are academic and singularly divorced from actual classroom problems and needs.

The subject matter has been adopted largely from the several divisions of general psychology, from experimental studies of many kinds, and from educational and intelligence testing and measurement. The more recent and increasingly important field of mental hygiene has contributed topics and has influenced points of view. A more acute and widespread realization of the importance of personality training for adjustment to the exigencies of contemporary life has served to enhance consideration of this

aspect. The principles of conditioning moral and social reactions are now recognized as being fundamentally similar to those basic in the learning of number combinations, handwriting, or reading. Thus, there has been a progressively accelerated expansion of the subject that is many-sided and pronounced.

In such a setting it was inevitable that there should have come about marked variations in what is included in the subject, and decided differences of opinion as to its peculiar objectives. Worcester¹ in an investigation of first courses in educational psychology reports conclusions corroborative of this point. After a study of the most widely used textbooks at that time, he found that the two leading ones, by Starch and by Gates, agreed to the extent of only about 33 per cent. He found, however, much less real agreement. Thus Gates, following Thorndike, treats the subject of instinctive response at length, while Starch devotes but a brief chapter to it in which he refutes educational doctrines founded on instinct. Starch devotes 14 per cent of his text to transfer of training, Gates gives 4 per cent. Some topics treated at length in one are not to be found at all in the other. A text then ranked third in use, *Introductory Psychology for Teachers* by Strong, was so different as to make adequate comparison impossible. Strong gives 35 per cent of his space to individual differences; Gates and Starch each use about 5 per cent. Strong practically omits transfer of training. Similar divergencies were found in the case of Pyle's *Psychology of Learning*. Worcester also found in an intensive examination of twelve leading texts in the field that the only topic discussed by all of them under the same name is instinct. He declares that "one would be somewhat put to it to discover five texts on supposedly the same subject which vary more than these do."²

Worcester also reports findings on the examination of course outlines received from ten colleges and universities

¹ De m A. Worcester, "The Wide Diversities of Practice in First Courses in Educational Psychology," *The Journal of Educational Psychology*, XVIII (January 1927), pp. 11-17.

² *Ibid.*, p. 14.

His analysis of these revealed a diversity as great as that found in the texts. In his conclusion he writes: "The present condition of the course, taken at large, seems almost chaotic, and a vigorous attack upon the problem by educational psychologists appears imperative."³

Conditions in this respect have not altered greatly since 1927. The recent texts titled under educational psychology continue to exhibit a wide range in content, point of view, topic selection, and nature and extent of treatment. Examples are such textbooks as by Monroe, DeVoss, and Reagan (1930); by Trow (1931); Wheeler and Perkins (1932); and by Hollingworth (1933)

It is thus apparent that the problem for teachers of educational psychology is to make use of the materials of most worth and to formulate courses more productive of discernible professional outcomes. On the one hand teachers are engaged in definite instructional activities, on the other, is a subject which should qualify as an applied science of the most direct kind. This suggests that efforts may well be addressed to the achievement of four objectives: (1) to delimit the subject more precisely; (2) to clarify its distinctive aims; (3) to secure better selection and organization of content; and (4) to establish a closer and sounder articulation between the content and school situations by a more judicious determination of what is most functionally indispensable and what might advantageously be eliminated or modified. All of these are of major importance in the formative stages of a comparatively new field and in a subject characterized by such rapid and diversified growth.

The most elaborate and ambitious program to revise and vitalize educational psychology along the line just indicated is that reported and described in the *Commonwealth Teacher-Training Study* (The University of Chicago Press, 1929), and directed by W. W. Charters and Douglas Waples.

The writer attempted in a recent investigation to secure information that would aid in evaluating the content of

³ *Ibid.*, p. 17

educational psychology in the light of teaching needs. The facts and principles of the subject were selected by an examination of the textbooks in the field and were finally expressed in the form of 264 distinct items. These items, suitably organized into units and sections, were printed in check lists. A scale of evaluation provided four ratings: major importance, average value, little value, omit item. Columns for checking these values after each item were provided in the printed list.

The check lists were sent to the superintendents of every city in the United States with a population of 15,000 or above. They were asked to have the lists checked by whoever could best meet the two following requirements: direct supervisory contact with the classroom work of teachers, and an adequate knowledge of educational psychology by recent study. Evaluations were also secured from classroom teachers themselves. Satisfactory returns were received from 120 important and representative cities in 43 States.

The evaluations presented in the check lists by the qualified supervisors and teachers reveal that major importance is attached to about only 35 per cent of the 264 items. These comprise facts and principles bearing a dynamic relationship to the teacher's skill and insight in his work or in his grasp of the subject itself. The agreement exhibited in assigning the several values indicates that the practical workers in education share mutual convictions on the relative importance of much of the subject's content.

What, first of all, should be restricted or omitted in educational psychology? The supervisors and teachers assign little value to controversial, academic, and technical items. These are well illustrated by such topics as instinctive responses, heredity versus environment, problems on intelligence, statistical calculations, schools of psychology, construction of learning curves, and theories of psychological occurrences. Similar disapproval is directed towards items dealing with experimental techniques and reports of original studies and evidence. The value of many items

on the receiving, connecting, and reacting mechanisms, and the biological background of the organism is discounted in this subject. Finally, the evaluations indicate that the subject should not try to embrace educational and intelligence testing and measurement, methods and techniques, and topics intensively treated in specialized courses.

What, secondly, do the educators consider especially useful in educational psychology? The items rated of relatively high or major importance indicate that more efforts should be made in showing the definite ways in which the subject is related to classroom problems and activities, its specific aims, and the nature of education as a psychological process. Emphasis should be given to the scientific ways in which facts are collected and to objective methods. The contributions of notable men in the field and some of the major historical trends are also considered helpful in putting the student in possession of a more enlightening conception of the nature of educational psychology.

As to the biological basis of behavior and learning, the substance of the ratings restricts most value to the rôle of the sensory organs, the features of the nervous system necessary to show the neural basis of learning, the influence of the endocrine glands, and the mutual importance of heredity and environment in individual development and schooling. The subjects of innate patterns, motivation, and feelings and emotions are rigorously limited to practical usage and application in the educative process.

The evaluators leave no room for doubt that they consider the learning process to be the fundamental task of educational psychology. Of major importance are the nature and analysis of learning, the laws of learning, and, above all, the principles of economy and guidance in learning and the specific factors affecting pupil progress. The items on how to study and direct learning, the ways of securing helpful transfer of training, and the relation of habit to life and learning are recommended highly.

Few would dispute that the learning process constitutes the fundamental and integrating unit of educational psy-

chology All other topics should subserve this objective and derive retentiveness and relevancy through systematic associations with it Failure in this respect accounts for much of the incoherence ramifying throughout the subject

Individual differences should be dealt with effectively, according to the evaluations, with emphasis on their accommodation by suitable school provisions This should include the needs for, and uses of, tests for ascertaining differences in school achievement; but details of intelligence and achievement tests and scales should be left to other courses Much uncertainty is reflected in the rating of differences in personality traits and their measurement, but this phase too is not considered the work of this subject

Items concerned with factors in mental efficiency, such as fatigue, and in personal integration and adjustment were favorably rated when significantly related to school behavior and performance This unit concluded the check list

The findings in the foregoing study at least provoke the suspicion that the materials in educational psychology might well be reduced and profitably revised in the interest of more professional concentration Certain topics now treated at more or less length should be left to other courses We conclude that the dominating concern of the subject in training teachers should be the principles in accordance with which the changes desired in education can be produced most efficiently Such concern requires an understanding of the learner and a never ending analysis of the mental or motor acquisitions comprising the subjects of instruction To this end there must be a perennial quest for the materials and for modes of presentation that will yield the fullest possible transfer to teaching activities These materials must be organized in sequential relationships and given time allotments that will ensure the optimum results "So to sum up, we must always think of teaching as an art whose aim is the direction of learning. And psychology is the science which most typically and intimately supports and assists the artistic enterprise, by giving us insight into the nature and conditions of effective learning."¹

¹ James T. Merrill, *The Psychology of Science in School Teaching* (New York: W. W. Norton and Co., 1933) p. 6

HIGH-SCHOOL SENIORS' FAMILIARITY WITH THE WORLD TODAY 7

E. R. WOOD

A brief report of the results of two tests based on the world today administered to select groups of Ohio high school seniors is presented. The first test was administered April 19, 1930, to 2,922 seniors and the second test March 21, 1931, to 3,678 seniors. In presenting the results the author is aware of the many limitations. However, when the limitations are all thrown aside there are values worthy of consideration.

In order that the reader may understand more fully the purpose and nature of the tests as well as the circumstances under which the tests were used the following facts are given: "The World Today" was but one part of the general scholarship test. The other parts of the general scholarship test were: (1) mathematics (arithmetic, algebra, plane geometry); (2) English (fundamentals, American and English literature); (3) history (United States, world, and Ohio history); (4) science (physics, chemistry, general science, biology). Each senior was required to take the entire test consisting of the above five parts. Three and one-half hours' time was given. This was an adequate amount of time to give each pupil an opportunity to do all he could without being forced by time.

The high-school seniors who had been selected by their respective high-school faculties as being the best students participated. The faculty members were urged to take into consideration, in addition to scholastic standing, the student's future promise, attitude, ideals, and behavior.

The Ohio State Department of Education was interested in stimulating sustained scholastic endeavor during the high-school years in the selection of the seniors of highest standing and in putting these students in contact with the colleges and universities that the students desired to enter. Administrative machinery was set up by the department whereby this could be done. The department was interested in encouraging institutions to provide scholarships for those deserving students who were eligible and who

desired to enter the Ohio colleges and universities. It became the duty of the institutions to actually award the scholarships.

The State Department of Education determined who the students were in the upper five per cent who took the general scholarship test. Each student was asked to indicate the college or university he desired to enter. After these facts were collected, each college was sent the name and address of each student who expressed a desire to enter the institution. Each college granted scholarships to as many of these students in the high five per cent as it could. Regardless of what a senior did on the test, the senior's name and address was sent to the president of the institution the student desired to enter. To be eligible for consideration the student was required to be in the upper fourth of his graduating class.

The department suggested to the colleges and universities that the following strings should be tied to each scholarship. The provisions safeguarded the institution and at the same time threw responsibility on the student who accepted a scholarship. The scholarship was good until expiration if the student's scholastic record, as well as his behavior, attitudes, ideas, and ideals were high. In case the student failed to meet his obligations, the college was not obligated to the student.

The test was held in each county. A committee of three, consisting of the county superintendent and two members appointed by the director of education, administered the test. Complete directions for administering it were sent to each member of the committee several days before the designated date. All tests were scored and rescored by this committee. They were later scored again by the State Department of Education.

A certificate of award or merit was presented to each pupil who was placed in the high fourth of each county group of contestants. The eighty-eight counties were grouped into five districts. A certificate of award was presented to each pupil who was placed in the high ten per

cent of each district. Each pupil who was placed in the high five per cent of the State was presented with a State certificate of award.

These certificates of award, mere pieces of paper, are to be found in every part of Ohio. They are in the homes of all classes. In many a home during the past three years these awards have been about the only ray of hope. There are hundreds of these outstanding boys and girls who are in college this year who would not be there had not this road been opened. Many received scholarships, others found work, and the largest number found college presidents and faculty members interested in their future and willing to assist them long before they appeared on the campus.

The influence reaches farther than those seniors who participated. Just as soon as local, county, district, and State recognition had been given these seniors, in addition to scholarships awarded by colleges and universities, the pupils who were juniors, sophomores, freshmen, eighth-, and seventh-year pupils began to look forward to the time when they would be seniors. They not only began to look forward but to prepare for that time. New long-time goals were set up. No longer was the goal just a grade. The pupils desired to obtain a mastery of the subject. On their own initiative they went back over the essential principles of previous courses. They were anxious to go far beyond the classroom assignments. It has, in brief, stimulated an intensiveness, a thoroughness, a mastery, a wide range of interests, and a purposefulness among the high-school pupils.

The previous paragraphs give the reader an idea of the nature of the tests and the conditions under which the tests were administered as well as the selection of the seniors and the long-time interest the seniors had in the general scholarship test.

"The World Today" (current events) was included as one part of this general test because it was the conviction of those connected with the State Department of Education

that at least the upper one fourth of the graduating class should realize that they were living today, that these boys and girls should be interested in the world of today and its problems, that they should understand what the past has accomplished that may contribute to solve the problems of today, that this should be one of the major outcomes of the secondary schools.

"The World Today" tests used in April 1930 and in March 1931 were constructed by Harrison M. Sayle, managing editor, American Education Press. The questions were based upon the important events which occurred between September first and the date of the test. State, national, and international events of a political, social, industrial, economic, religious, and educational nature were included. The test used in March 1931 was a parallel and equivalent form in so far as it is possible for one who is a master of the subject matter so to construct. There were three parts to the test of 1930. There were three corresponding parts to the two tests. Part one was a matching test. The name of each of fifteen persons who had been prominent in the news during the school year was to be matched with the appropriate reference. Part two was a multiple-choice test consisting of ten test items. Part three consisted of fifteen questions. Each question could be answered by a word or phrase.

TABLE I
QUARTILE VALUES OF THE PER CENT CORRECT ON ITEMS
OF THE 1930 AND 1931 "THE WORLD TODAY" TEST

Group	Per Cent Correct on the 1930	Per Cent Correct on the 1931*	Per Cent Correct on the 1931	
			Boys	Girls
Q ₁	60	75	82.5	68.8
Q ₂ or Md	36.7	52.5	60	46.8
Q ₃	19.2	31	30	28.5
Range	3-86	2-92	3-98	1-87
Number of test items	40	40	40	40
Number of pupils	2,922	1,015	455	560

* 3,678 pupils took the test. The 1,015 pupils constituted a dependable sample.

Table I is read in the following manner. Each of ten test items ($\frac{1}{4}$ of 40) were answered correctly by at least 60 per cent of the 2,922 pupils of the 1930 group. Each one of thirty of the test items ($\frac{3}{4}$ of 40) was answered correctly by less than 60 per cent of the 2,922 pupils. Each one of twenty test items was answered correctly by 36.7 per cent of the pupils. Each one of ten test items was answered correctly by less than 19.2 per cent of the pupils. One half of the test items was answered correctly by between 19.2 per cent and 60 per cent of the pupils. The reader will have no difficulty in making further interpretations.

It is quite evident that the results for 1931 are much better than the results for 1930. The writer is convinced that it is representative of what happened as a consequence of introducing the test in 1930. During the school year 1929-1930 many of the schools did not make any provision for "The World Today" (current history). Books in which the facts of yesterday are presented are the sources used by pupils in securing facts. As soon as the test had been taken in April 1930, an immediate interest was created in the world of today. The science, history, English, and mathematics teachers became aware of the world today. A new world opened to the boys and girls in many schools.

TABLE II

MEDIAN VALUES OF THE PER CENT CORRECT ON ITEMS OF EACH PART OF THE 1930 AND 1931 "THE WORLD TODAY" TEST

Part	Per Cent Correct		Per Cent Correct, 1931		Number of Test Items in Each Part
	1930	1931	Boys	Girls	
I	47.5	62.5	71.3	51.3	15
II	51.7	78.3	81.3	70.0	10
III	21.3	32.5	37.5	26.3	15

Table II is read in the same manner as Table I, with the exception that only the value of the median is given for each part of each test. The values in this table assist in substantiating the statement that the results for 1931 are better than those for 1930. The results of the test

given in 1932 indicated improvement over the results for 1931

The fifteen test items of Part I of the 1930 and 1931 tests are presented together with the per cent of the seniors who were able to match each name with the appropriate reference. The items have been rearranged according to the per cent of students who gave the correct answer.

TABLE III

PER CENT OF CORRECT RESPONSES TO EACH TEST ITEM OF PART I OF THE 1930 AND 1931 "THE WORLD TODAY" TEST

Per Cent Correct	1930	Per Cent Correct	1931
86	Madame Curie	92	Bobby Jones
81	James J. Walker	89	Ignace Paderewski
80	Ramsay MacDonald	79	John J. Pershing
78	Gandhi	78	Franklin D. Roosevelt
77	Charles Evans Hughes	73	Dieudonne Coste
71	Ortiz Rubio	72	Sinclair Lewis
62	Tardieu	68	William Tilden
50	Primo de Rivera	62	Adolph Hitler
47	Patrick J. Hurley	52	William N. Doak
40	Martha Berry	48	Aristide Briand
25	Wickersham	34	Elihu Root
22	Elihu Root	32	Henry P. Fletcher
18	Admiral Byrd	27	Colonel Arthur Woods
16	Alexander Legge	26	Earl of Bessborough
15	R. R. Moton	10	Philip La Follette

The fifteen test items of Part III of the 1930 and of the 1931 tests are presented.

TABLE IV

PER CENT OF CORRECT RESPONSES TO EACH OF THE TEST ITEMS OF PART III OF THE 1930 AND THE 1931 "THE WORLD TODAY" TEST

Per Cent Correct	1930	Per Cent Correct	1931
58	Who is Secretary of State?	62	What great American scientist is experimenting in golden rod as a source of rubber?
41	Who is the president of Germany?	61	Who is presiding officer of the National House of Representatives?

TABLE IV--*Continued*

PER CENT OF CORRECT RESPONSES TO EACH OF THE TEST ITEMS OF PART III OF THE 1930 AND THE 1931 "THE WORLD TODAY" TEST

- | | |
|--|---|
| 38 In what country has a dictatorship recently been abandoned? | 43 How have the Eastern railroads moved to eliminate wasteful competition? |
| 35 How many known planets are there? | 40 Who are the United States Senators from your State? |
| 32 Who is the oldest Justice ever to have served on the Supreme Court bench? | 39 What was the greatest dirigible disaster of the year? |
| 26 Which nation today has the second largest colonial empire? | 37 What is a lame-duck session of Congress? |
| 24 Which nation lays greatest emphasis on "security" as a necessary condition to reducing armaments? | 31 What State elects its members to Congress in September instead of November? |
| 21 To what nation in the Caribbean did President Hoover send an investigating commission? | 31 What country sent the first aerial squadron across the Atlantic? |
| 19 What river was recently opened to commercial navigation? | 31 How has the unemployment crisis affected our immigration policy? |
| 17 At the Naval Conference, which nation besides France objected to the abolition of the submarine? | 24 Name three important commodities which have suffered a severe drop in price because of overproduction? |
| 9 What prominent statesman advocates the abolition of the food blockade as a weapon of warfare? | 19 What new Nicaraguan policy has been announced? |
| 8 What person or institution hereafter will collect and disburse German reparations? | 12 At what time has the Senate Foreign Relations Committee promised to take action on the World Court? |

TABLE IV—*Continued*

PER CENT OF CORRECT RESPONSES TO EACH OF THE TEST ITEMS OF
PART III OF THE 1930 AND THE 1931 "THE WORLD TODAY" TEST

- | | |
|---|---|
| 3 What rather new form of banking has caused President Hoover to suggest a careful investigation, looking towards laws for its control? | 8 What large corporation has announced a plan combining industrial insurance and old-age pension? |
| 3 What does President Hoover consider to be the "balance wheel" of industry, its mainstay against a threat of depression? | 8 Instead of a Federal dole, what form of relief, in general, does President Hoover advocate? |
| 3 In what land was there serious threat of international warfare last winter? | 2 Name two members of the Wickersham Commission, in addition to the chairman |

It is quite evident that the results for 1931 are much better than the results for 1930. The writer is convinced that it is representative of what happened as a consequence of introducing the test in 1930. During the school year 1929-1930 many of the schools did not make any provision for "The World Today" (current history). Books in which the facts of yesterday are presented were the sources used by pupils in securing facts. A new world was opened to the boys and girls in many schools.

RESEARCH PROJECTS AND METHODS IN EDUCATIONAL SOCIOLOGY

In order that this section of THE JOURNAL may be of the greatest possible service, its readers are urged to send at once to the editor of this department titles—and where possible descriptions—of current research projects now in process in educational sociology and also those projects in kindred fields of interest to educational sociologists. Correspondence upon proposed projects and methods will be welcomed.

A STUDY OF RELATIONSHIPS BETWEEN THE SCHOOLS AND JUVENILE COURTS

The Committee of the National Probation Association (mentioned in the April issue of THE JOURNAL by Marjorie Bell) to study the relationship between the school and the juvenile court in the prevention and treatment of delinquency grew out of frequent discussions and conferences of the relative responsibility of the two agencies.

The objective of the group is expressed in the question "What is the responsibility of the school and the court in the prevention and treatment of delinquency?" To determine this we need to know more of the working relationships between the two and policies in both school and court which in various localities have operated successfully to reduce delinquency and to reach it at an early stage. A study of these problems in specific instances and dissemination of the information would promote the most progressive and practical methods of controlling delinquency.

There is, in many parts of the country, great dissatisfaction with traditional school systems which give little recognition and individual attention to subnormal children, truants, and incipient delinquents. On the other hand, the bringing of truant and mildly delinquent school children to the juvenile court is deplored. Methods should be studied for early effective treatment of these children in a nonpenal way, both by the school and the court.

It is planned to make a series of field studies of working relationships between schools and courts in communities of various types. A group of such studies made available to

the public will advance the general understanding of juvenile behavior problems besides serving as a practical guide to improve techniques for the agencies immediately concerned. The following statement of methods and procedure for the proposed study has been formulated by the Committee.

- 1 A study of the existing facilities of the school and the current practices in detecting and handling delinquency problems in the school. This would include a consideration of the use of clinical facilities and whatever social program is found in the school system, as in the attendance department, visiting-teacher service, special classes for problem children, etc.

- 2 A corresponding review of the juvenile court, its facilities and its method of handling delinquency cases in the school group.

Studies in either 1 or 2 would not be limited to truancy cases, but, inasmuch as truancy is the outstanding symptom of school maladjustment and the beginning of delinquency, there would be special emphasis on this feature of the problem. Contact with other agencies whose work touches the delinquency field would be necessary to round out the picture.

- 3 An analysis of the working policy of these two agencies and an estimate of its effectiveness.

4. The use of case studies as a basis for conclusions, and to illustrate recommendations.

- 5 The assembling of usable statistical case data.

- 6 *Recommendations for strengthening and developing the cooperation relationship of the school and the court.*

A field study in approximately twenty communities is proposed. A local report for each community would be prepared. A fuller general report would contain concrete information upon which to base a program and recommendations setting standards for all communities. In addition, definite results should follow in organizing cooperation and better service for delinquent children in each community studied.

COMMUNITY STUDY IN INDIANA

A community study in New Harmony, Indiana, is being conducted under the direction of Professor Francis M. Vreeland of the sociology department of DePauw University. The purpose of this study is to gauge the social trends of a small community and to measure the effects of the unique heritage of this little town on its present-day life. An award of \$500.00 for this purpose was made

by the Elmhurst Committee on Social Research of New York City.

New Harmony was the site of several experiments in community life beginning in 1814 with the Rappites and continuing during 1825 and 1827 under Robert Owen. The present survey will include an analysis of the town's accomplishments up to the present time and an interpretation of its characteristic community consciousness in the light of its unique past. It is an attempt to discover, if possible, the nature and value of a community tradition.

THE STUDY OF PYGMIES COMPLETED

Dr. Ellsworth Faris, head of the department of sociology of the University of Chicago, has returned from a seven months' study of the pygmies of the Bankundo tribe in the Belgian Congo.

Dr. Faris, who worked among these people many years ago and wrote down the grammar of their language, has made an intensive sociological study of the group. He says that they are surprisingly well informed upon world affairs and are keenly aware of the effects of the depression upon themselves because of the decline of their market for "gum copal," a base for varnish and certain paints formerly marketed in this country. Dr. Faris described the pygmies as "intellectually accessible" as college students in this country.

BOOK REVIEWS

The Unwholesome Personality, by WILLIAM H. BURNHAM.
New York: D. Appleton and Company, 1932, 713
pages.

A continuation of the subject of mental hygiene as introduced in the author's previous book, *The Normal Mind*. An excellent text for an introductory course in mental hygiene in normal schools and teachers colleges, emphasizing the development, problems, and differences of personality in normal children rather than the abnormalities so frequently emphasized in texts in this field.

The Laws of Human Nature, by RAYMOND HOLDER
WHEELER. New York: D. Appleton and Company,
1932, 235 pages.

A discussion of the philosophical basis of the *Gestalt* psychology, and its application to contemporary psychological problems. A metaphysical approach to the problem. One of D. Appleton's new Contemporary Library of Psychology which aims to throw the problems and trends of contemporary psychological thought and investigation into a perspective at once accurate and popular.

Social Attitudes, edited by KIMBALL YOUNG. New
York: Henry Holt and Company, 1931, 382 pages.

A group of papers by former students and associates of W. I. Thomas dealing with the concept of social attitude, and the rôle of social attitudes in social control and the determination of personality. Among the contributors are: Ellsworth Faris, Robert E. Park, L. L. Bernard, E. E. Young, Frederic Thrasher, Stuart Queen, E. S. Bogardus, H. A. Miller, E. B. Reuter, Ernest Burgess, and E. H. Sutherland. Excellent collateral material for courses in social psychology and sociology.

Solving Life's Everyday Problems, by JAMES GORDON
GILKIN. New York: The Macmillan Company,
1930, 233 pages.

This book contains twelve practical talks aimed at helping people to live happier and more effective lives. A careful reading of it should help both social and religious workers to solve the problems of life in a more effective way. The book is interesting, well written, and helpful.

The Evolution of Culture, by JULIUS LIPPERT. New
York: The Macmillan Company, 1931, 716 pages.

A cultural anthropology, built around the assumption that life is a cultural principle. An abundance of concrete material, well organized and discussed in the light of the theoretical problems of anthropology. More characteristic of the European than the American trend of anthropological thought. The exhaustive scholarship characteristic of the German scholarly mind.

The Mothers, by ROBERT BRIFFAULT. New York: The Macmillan Company, 1931, 319 pages.

A condensation of Briffault's original three-volume work of the same title. A matriarchal theory of social origins. An interesting historical perspective against which to consider the problem of social equality of the sexes in modern life.

Civilization and Its Discontents, by SIGMUND FREUD. New York: Jonathan Cape and Harrison Smith, 1930, 144 pages.

An interpretation of the conflict between the individual and the restraints of civilization as the ego strives for self-realization. A thoughtful and in many ways illuminating approach to the spiritual unrest of our contemporary civilization. A distinctly mellowed Freud.

Farewell to Reform, by JOHN CHAMBERLAIN. New York: Horace Liveright, 1932, 333 pages.

A critical history of the rise, life, and decay of the progressive mind in America. This book is an invaluable background for those who wish perspective on the political and social changes in which we find ourselves involved. A magnificent review of the literature of the progressive movement.

Individualism: An American Way of Life, by HORACE M. KALLIN. New York: Horace Liveright, 1933, 241 pages.

The author, who is one of the professors in the New School for Social Research, has here brought together his "meditations of many years concerning the philosophy which underlies the adventure of being an American." There is an autobiographical preface, explaining how the writer came by the central idea of pragmatic individualism. His views are presented in thirty-six propositions, composing "the individualist manifesto." The volume grew out of a conversation with Dr. John Dewey, with whom the author differs, he thinks, not so much in viewpoint as in method.

Remaking of Marriage, by POUL BJERRE. New York: The Macmillan Company, 1931, 257 pages.

This contribution to the psychology of sex relationship, while philosophical rather than scientific in its approach, is a penetrating analysis of the fundamental problem of the adjustment of two personalities in the marriage of our civilization. By implication it throws much light upon the insecurity that is apparent in increasing numbers of our children.

Social Welfare Laws of the Forty-eight States. Des Moines: Wendell Huston Company, 1930.

A compilation of all laws relating to social welfare, classified by States and by types of population affected. Loose leaf and kept up-to-date by new material from the publishers as laws change. Indispensable to social agencies and welfare workers of every type. Valuable for superintendents of schools.

The Money Value of a Man, by LOUISE I. DUBLIN and ALFRED J. LOTKA. New York: Ronald Press Company, 1930, 264 pages.

This book was developed primarily out of the work and interest in the life-insurance business of the authors who are statisticians for the Metropolitan Life Insurance Company. They feel that human life can be equated to a sum of money. Indeed, in this book the authors have set up elaborate tables which they think give an accurate estimate of the money value of men at the different age levels, according to the amount of their earnings.

Rural Girls in the City for Work, by O. LATHAM HAICHER. Richmond: Garrett and Massie, Inc., 1930, 154 pages.

A survey of a group of rural girls found at work in the city, with analysis of their backgrounds, reasons for coming to the city, experiences in the city, status as compared with their status in the country, with recommendations as to guidance of girls still in the country. Valuable to those doing vocational guidance in rural communities.

Tests and Measurements, by IRENE PALMER. New York: A. S. Baines and Company, 1932, 143 pages.

The theory, construction, and use of tests of health and physical education. An excellent compendium in a field in much need of standardization. Useful to all teachers of health and physical education.

Abnormal Psychology, by H. L. HOLLINGWORTH. New York: Ronald Press Company, 1930, 590 pages.

An extraordinarily fine presentation of the field of abnormal psychology. Excellent discussion of the types, causes, and treatment of mental abnormalities. Particularly good discussion of the neuroses and functional psychoses. Should be in the hands of every school psychologist.

Language and Languages, by WILLEM L. GRAFF. New York: D. Appleton and Company, 1932, xlv+487 pages.

Language and Languages is fundamentally a general introduction to the science of language. The book is divided into two parts. I, Con-

stituents and Mechanism, II, Drift and Diversification. In Part I the author explains the need for phonetics in the interpretation of language; in Part II he elaborates on the reasons for phonetic change and indicates morphological and genealogical classifications. The last part of the book is devoted to the languages in the Indo-European and the non-Indo-European group, including a brief description of approximately a hundred languages. On the whole, this book is one of the best in the field of linguistics from the point of view of adequacy and condensation.

The Human Personality, by LOUIS BERG, M.D. New York: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1933, xv+321 pages.

This book deals with the physiological, psychological, and sociological aspects of human personality. Following an introduction by Dr. E. George Payne, the editor, there are chapters on such topics as The Meaning of Personality, How We Behave, How We Become What We Are, The Glandular Basis of Personality, The Fiction of Normalcy, Maladjustment, Sex and Character, Dreams, Personalities in Conflict, The Criminal Personality, Personalities in Flight, and The Quest for Happiness.

BOOKS RECEIVED

- Beginnings of Tomorrow*, by Herbert Adolphus Miller. Boston: D. C. Heath and Company.
- Bibliography on Family Relationships*, by Flora M. Thurston. New York: National Council of Parent Education.
- Blind in School and Society*, by Thomas D. Cutsforth. New York: D. Appleton and Company.
- Case Studies in the Psychopathology of Crime*, by Ben Karpman. Washington, D. C.: Mimeofom Press.
- Case Studies of Normal Adolescent Girls*, by Elsie M. Smithues. New York: D. Appleton and Company.
- Character Sketches*, by Julius B. Maller. New York: Bureau of Publications, Teachers College, Columbia University.
- Charter for the Social Sciences*, by Charles A. Beard. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons.
- Gas-House McGinty*, by James T. Farrell. New York: The Vanguard Press.
- Genetic Principles in Medicine and Social Science*, by Lancelot Hogben. New York: Alfred A. Knopf.
- Growth and Development of the Child*, Part II. Publication of the White House Conference on Child Health and Protection. New York: The Century Company.
- Introduction to the History of the Social Sciences*, by Henry Johnson. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons.
- Rise of the City, 1878-1898*, by Arthur M. Schlesinger. New York: The Macmillan Company.
- Study Guide in Secondary Education*, by Edgar M. Draper and Alexander C. Roberts. New York: The Century Company.
- Studies in Expressive Movement*, by Gordon W. Allport and Philip E. Vernon. New York: The Macmillan Company.

NEWS FROM THE FIELD

Superintendent Paul Stetson of the Indianapolis public-school system was elected president of the Department of Superintendence of the National Education Association at the February meeting of that organization.

President Frank Baker of the Milwaukee State Teachers College has been elected president of the American Association of Teachers Colleges to succeed President H. A. Brown of Illinois Normal University.

The spring meeting of the Interstate Conference for the Discussion of Common Problems of Teacher Education was held on Thursday, April 6, in Dodge Hall of Teachers College, Columbia University. The two problems to be discussed were "The Problem of Selective Admissions," and "The Curriculum of the Three- and Four-Year Teacher-Training Institutions." Dr. M. Ernest Townsend of the New Jersey State Normal School is the president and Dr. Francis J. Brown of New York University School of Education is the secretary of this organization.

The Eighth Annual Spring Conference of the Eastern States Association of Professional Schools for Teachers was held at the Pennsylvania Hotel in New York City on April 6, 7, and 8. During the Thursday evening program, two reports of national importance were given: the first by Dr. E. S. Evenden, associate director of the National Survey of the Education of Teachers, who discussed the findings of the survey, the second by Professor Ned H. Dearborn, director of the Institute of Education of New York University, who discussed that section of the survey of which he had charge, relating to the in-service education of teachers.

On Friday morning, Dr. Thomas Alexander of Teachers College, Columbia University, discussed the new experimental college which is closing its first year of work as an associate division of Teachers College. At this same session, Professor Baker of Milwaukee State Teachers College presented a paper dealing with the reorganization of the curriculum of his institution, with emphasis upon the integration of professional study which replaces the separate and detached courses in education as opposed to the older well-known plan of specialization of function as between college and training school and as between method and content.

One of the most significant meetings of this organization was the student-faculty banquet held in the grand ballroom of the Hotel Pennsylvania on Friday evening. Dean Walter Rautenstrauch of Columbia University and Mr. Paul Blanshard of the City Affairs Committee of New York were the chief speakers.

The work of the conference on Saturday morning was devoted to student conferences, one of the annual features of this Association. Student representatives from numerous colleges and normal schools of this area presented from the student point of view and with student enthusiasm interesting new phases of their own college life.

CONTRIBUTORS' PAGE

Dr. Adolph William Aleck received his A.B. from Oglethorpe University in 1923, his A.M. from Clark University in 1926, and his Ph.D. from New York University in 1931. Dr. Aleck has had teaching experience in various high schools and private schools and has taught at Oglethorpe and Clark Universities. Since 1932, Dr. Aleck has been a member of the department of educational sociology of New York University.

Dr. Charles E. Benson received his A.B. in 1911 and his A.M. in 1912 from Nebraska State Teachers College, and his Ph.D. in 1922 from Columbia University. Dr. Benson has held various positions, among them superintendent of schools, professor of psychology and education, clinical psychologist, acting dean of the School of Education, and director of the Summer Session, University of Oklahoma, and is at present professor and chairman of the department of educational psychology of New York University. He has done constructive work in the field of mental hygiene. Professor Benson is the author and co-author of many articles and books in his field. Among these books are, *The Output of Professional Schools for Teachers*, *The Psychology for Teachers*, and *The Psychology of Advertisers*.

Dr. Edward L. Kemp received his A.B. from Franklin and Marshall College in 1923, his Ed.M. from Harvard Graduate School of Education in 1927, and his Ph.D. from New York University in 1932. For a time Dr. Kemp was supervising principal of schools at Portland, Me., and taught in the department of education of the State Teachers College at East Stroudsburg, Pa. Since 1931, he has been with the department of educational psychology of New York University.

Dr. Charles E. Skinner received his B.S. in 1914 at Ohio University, his A.M. in 1916 at the University of Chicago, and his Ph.D. in 1923 at New York University. Professor Skinner has taught psychology, philosophy, and educational psychology in Ohio and Miami Universities, has done special graduate work at Cornell and Columbia Universities, and is now professor of education in New York University. Dr. Skinner is the co-author of the following publications: *Psychology for Social and Religious Workers*, *Psychology for Teachers*, *Readings in Educational Psychology*, *Story and Study Readers*, *Biological Foundations of Education*, *The Classroom Guide to the Book of Knowledge Encyclopedia*, and is the author of *The Problem of Visual Education* and *Good Manners for Young Americans*.

Dr. Herbert P. Smith received his B.S. in Industrial Engineering from New York University College of Engineering in 1923 and his Ph.D. from New York University School of Education in 1932. Since 1925 he has been teaching in New York University in various departments and, at present, is instructor in the department of educational psychology.

Dr. Donald S. Snedden was associate professor of education in the School of Education, New York University, from 1920 to 1930. His work was in the department of educational psychology with a special

interest in the field of clinical psychology. Professor Snedden lost his life in Long Island Sound in May of 1931. Before coming to New York University he had been psychologist in the Peddie School, assistant professor of psychology in Cooper Union Institute of Technology, and assistant professor of education in Harvard University, as well as instructor in the Columbia University Summer School. His untimely death was a great loss to the department of educational psychology of the School of Education and to the cause of clinical psychology.

The paper which is printed in this issue was presented at the official opening of the new building of the School of Education. At the time of his death, Dr. Snedden was engaged in developing the clinic along the lines indicated in this paper.

Dr. E. R. Wood received his A. B. in 1916 and his B. S. in Education in 1917 from Ohio University, his A. M. in 1917 from Clark University, and his Ph. D. in 1923 from the University of Chicago. Dr. Wood has had wide teaching and administrative experience and is now associate professor of education in the department of educational psychology of New York University. Dr. Wood has published many bulletins on research made in connection with college studies, test construction, scholarship contests, and also work in connection with the State Department of Education of Columbus, Ohio.

Dr. Lloyd N. Yepsen received his A. B. in 1921 and his A. M. in 1924 from Carthage University and his Ph. D. in 1931 from Ohio State University. Dr. Yepsen was connected with the Training School, Vineland, N. J., from 1921 to 1929, adviser to the Minister of Education, Santiago de Chile, from 1929 to 1930, head clinical psychologist in the North Jersey mental-hygiene clinics from 1931 to 1932, and since 1932 has been teaching clinical psychology in the department of educational psychology of New York University. Professor Yepsen has published many articles and bulletins on special education, clinical psychology, and research.

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